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Admiral
Sir Erasmus Ommanney, C.B.

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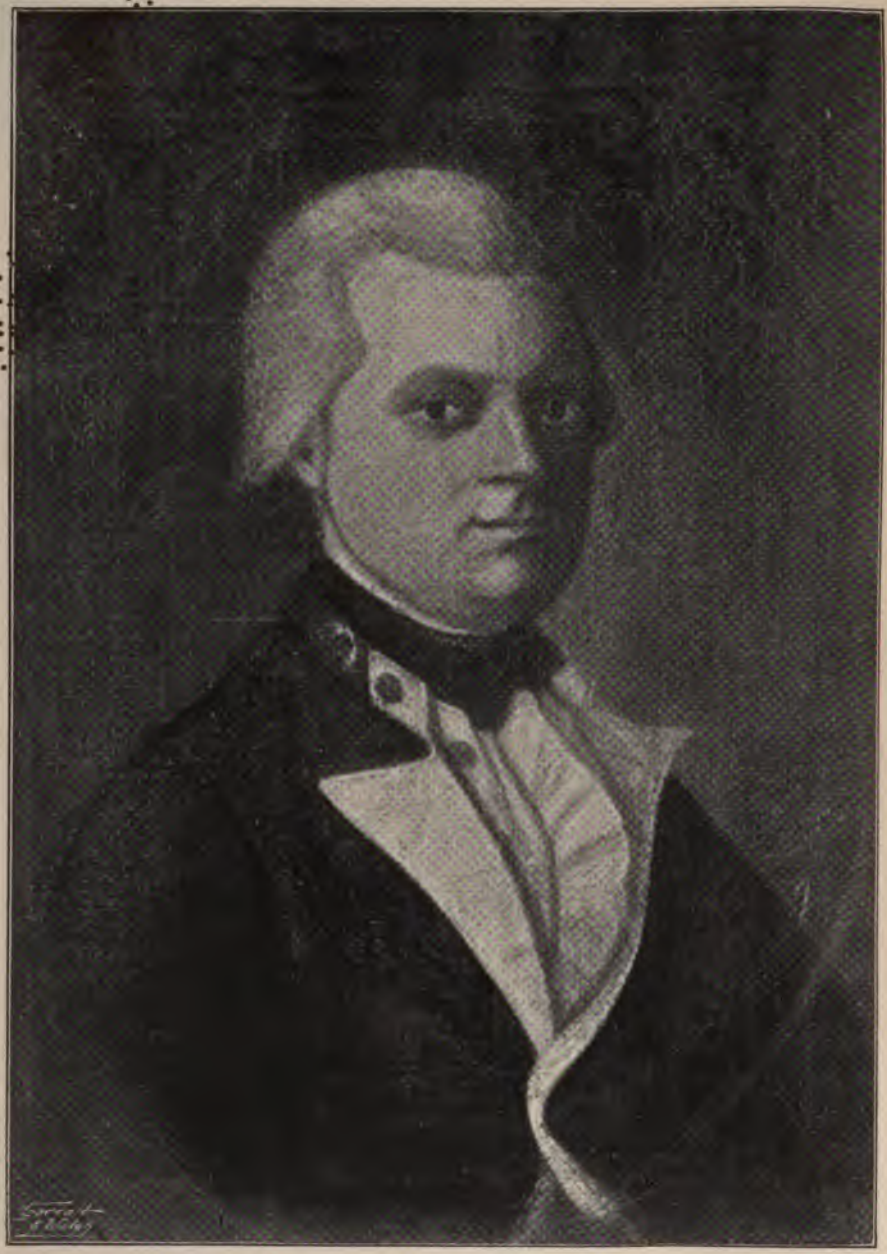
VOL. VI.

REAR-ADMIRAL

BARTHOLOMEW JAMES



LIEUTENANT JAMES
ABOUT 1787
From a painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds

Frontispiece

JOURNAL

OF

REAR-ADMIRAL

Bartholomew James

1752—1828

EDITED BY

JOHN KNOX LAUGHTON, M.A.

with the assistance of

JAMES YOUNG F. SULIVAN

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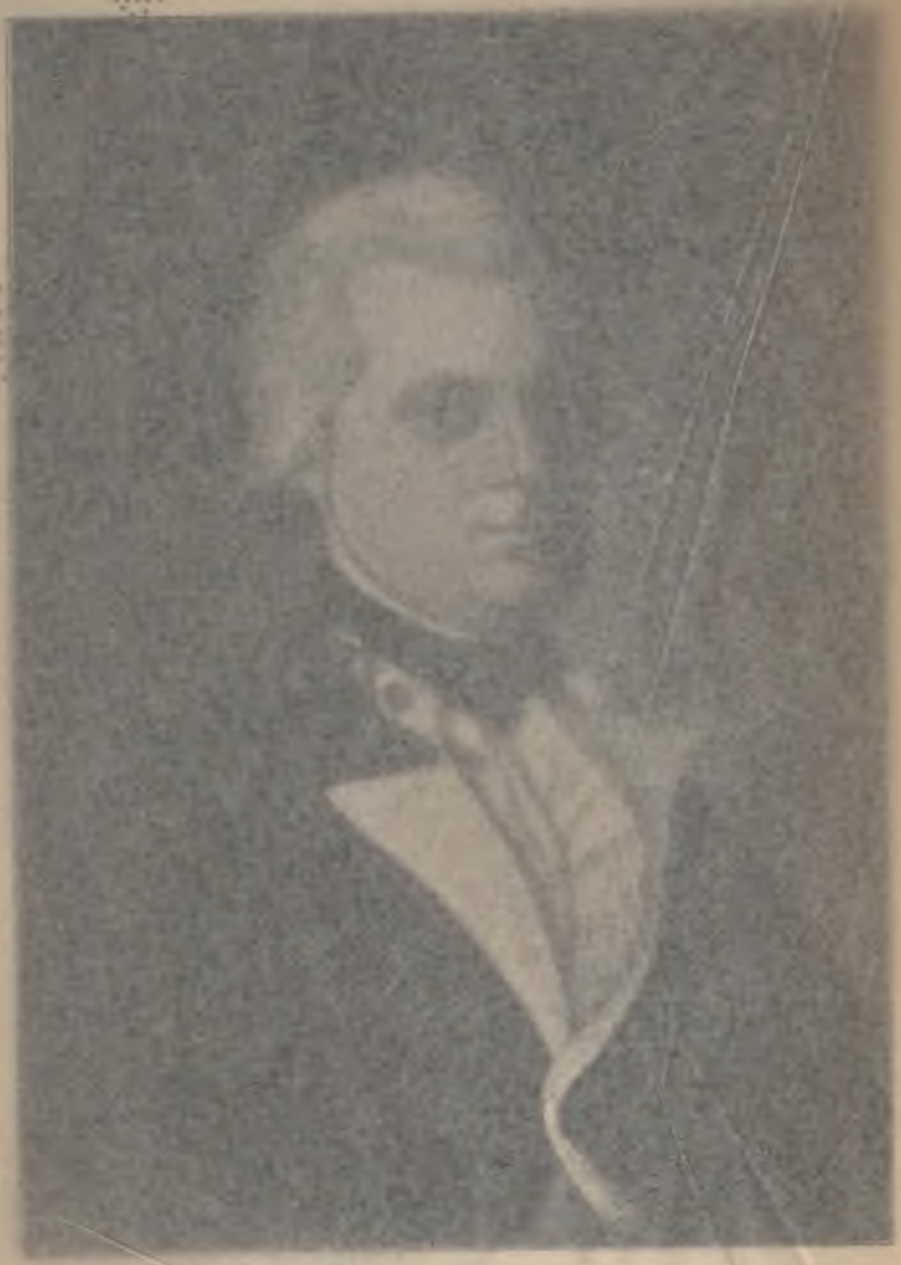

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CAPTAIN JAMES
ABOUT 1815
From a miniature

INTRODUCTION

BARTHOLOMEW JAMES, the writer of the following Journal, was not again employed afloat after the peace in 1801. The Corso had cleared off his pecuniary difficulties, and left him with a balance of about 25,000*l.* to the good. Out of this, coming ashore from the Canopus, he built himself a house called Woodlands, at Mylor, near Falmouth, where he lived with his family. On the renewal of the war, in 1803, he was appointed to a command of the Sea-Fencibles of Cornwall, having, as a colleague, Captain Robert Carthew Reynolds, who, as a rear-admiral, was lost in the St. George, on the coast of Denmark, on December 24, 1811. In this office, with his headquarters at Falmouth, James continued till the peace in 1814. On shore, as afloat, he preserved the same genial temper, and displayed a similar turn for eccentric festivity. At the jubilee of George III., in 1809, his rejoicings took the form of 'a dinner to the poor of the neighbourhood, at which he himself presided; when an enormous sea pie, weighing about 200 lbs., flanked by the good old sirloin, &c., was followed by ample cans of strong beer, till the hearts of the poor people sung with joy.'[1]

[1] *Royal Cornwall Gazette*, Feb. 4, 1887.

James became a rear-admiral, on the retired list, on June 4, 1825, and died on May 22, 1828.

In 1783 he married Henrietta, daughter of Mr. Daniel Pender, of Falmouth, and by her had issue, a son who died within a month of his birth, and two daughters; the elder of whom, Eliza, married Captain Vaillant, of the Dutch navy; the younger, Henrietta, married, in 1808, Thomas Ball Sulivan, then a young commander in the navy (p. 305), who died, a rear-admiral and C.B., in December 1857.

An early adventure of this younger daughter, Henrietta, is worth relating as an instance at once of the father's eccentricity and endurance. In October 1790, when James arrived at London with his wife and elder daughter after their involuntary visit to Jamaica (p. 180), Mrs. James was naturally anxious to see her younger daughter, then not quite two years old, who had been left in charge of an aunt—Miss Pender—at Falmouth, and wished to go home at once. James was opposed to this, but, to quiet his wife's apprehensions, went himself to Falmouth by coach, three days' journey. He arrived in Falmouth about two o'clock in the morning, and went at once to his sister-in-law's house; but, taking for granted that she would refuse to entrust the child to him, he entered secretly, took the little girl out of her crib, wrapped her in a blanket, snatched up the clothes which lay beside, made his escape unperceived, and reached the coach just in time to take his seat for the return journey. A quaker lady, who was a fellow passenger, dressed the child and looked after her on the way, so that she reached her mother in perfect safety. What

Miss Pender's feelings were in the meanwhile has not been related. To us, softened by railways, saloon carriages, and Pullman cars, James' six consecutive days—144 hours—of coach travelling will perhaps seem a more remarkable feat than the walk at Graciosa (p. 333), on which he evidently prided himself.

Although the writer of this journal appears to have been the first of his family in the navy, the number of his descendants and connections who have been in it is somewhat remarkable. A cousin of the same name—James—repeatedly distinguished himself in command of a Post-Office packet during the Napoleonic war.[1] The Penders have been a naval family for several generations; and of the Sulivans, the rear-admiral's father, uncle, cousin, three brothers, and four sons were all in the navy. Of these latter, the eldest was the late Admiral Sir Bartholomew James Sulivan, K.C.B.; the youngest is the present Vice-Admiral George Lydiard Sulivan. In 1837 Sir B. James Sulivan married Sophia, daughter of Admiral James Young, also one of a naval family; and of his three sons, the two eldest were in the navy. The youngest, Henry Norton Sulivan (who has just published a memoir of his father, Sir James), though not in the navy, has been well known as taking an intelligent interest in the modern problems of navigation, and especially in the development of the North-East Passage.[2] It may be added that of the later generation several

[1] Norway's *History of the Post-Office Packet Service.*

[2] See a letter by Sir Robert Morier, under the signature of 'One who knows all about it,' in the *Times* of December 26, 1890.

have already entered the navy or are preparing to do so.

The detailed account which James has given of his service in the navy, renders it unnecessary to say here anything about his official life. It may, however, be as well to point out that the earlier part of the journal, written, as he tells us, at Ou Trou, must certainly have been, in great measure, put together from memory. There is strong internal evidence that much of the later part was also written after an interval of time more or less considerable. The measure of the distress on board the Porcupine (pp. 68–9) is not in exact agreement with that given in James own log, which was presumably written within a few days after the occurrences described. The error and confusion in the dates of the French fleet sailing out of the Chesapeake, engaging the English, and returning into Lynnhaven Bay (p. 114) must have been made some time afterwards. The reference to the enlarged measures (p. 334) must have been written at a later date; the confusion between Cape Prior and Cape Ortegal (p. 353) could scarcely be made while the coast line and the chart were fresh in his memory. It must, in fact, be accepted that the Journal, notwithstanding its form, is rather of the nature of reminiscences, and was written up after James had settled on shore, by the aid of memorandum books, frequently scanty in details, and especially in dates, which were given only when they appeared important at the time; the rest being filled in by the aid of a memory not always to be depended on for minute accuracy. Of the writer's perfect honesty of intention there can be no doubt,

though it may be suspected that he has sometimes unwittingly exaggerated a little, in the desire to tell a good story.

On the other hand, it must be remembered that during the time of James' service afloat, and especially in the American war, ships' logs were very far indeed from being kept with the strictness and punctuality which have now come to be considered inherent. Some curious evidence as to this was put on record in the celebrated court-martial on Admiral Keppel in January 1779, when Captain Alexander Hood—afterwards Viscount Bridport—said in so many words: 'I do not think that log-books, which are kept in the manner which ships' log-books are, ought to be implicitly taken as evidence;' and again: 'I never considered a ship's log-book to be material evidence; much less did I ever expect that any words that should be put into any log-book should be considered as a charge. God forbid that such a thing should be conceived or adopted.' It was, to a great extent, in consequence of this public declaration, that logs began to be kept in a more systematic and trustworthy manner; but they were not entirely so till towards the end of the great French war, or, indeed, for some time after it. Anyone who has had occasion to examine logs of the earlier period will know how badly kept, badly written they commonly are; and, above all, how imperfect in detail, events of the greatest importance being omitted altogether, or mentioned in the barest possible way; such neglect, omissions, or imperfections being due often to the writer's ignorance of what was required or ought to be entered; often, no

doubt, to sheer laziness; and, perhaps still more often, to the difficulty which the writer felt in the management of a pen. And thus, even when the ship's log differs considerably from James' narrative—as, for instance, in the number of sick sent to hospital from the Orpheus (p. 39)—it is by no means certain, as it would be at the present day, that the error is all on the side of the private journal.

The outline[1] of the history of the American war has been already traced by Mr. Hannay in the Introduction to the Letters of Lord Hood (N.R.S., vol. iii.), and may be referred to with advantage in connection with the narrative of James' earlier service. To this may be added the following table of the principal events of the war, so far as they have any bearing on James' career:—

Vice-Admiral Samuel Graves commanded at Boston and on the coast of North America .	1774, June
After several years of discontent, insubordination, and riot, the armed revolt of the colonists took form in the so-called battle of Lexington .	1775, April 19
Graves relieved by Vice-Admiral Shuldham .	1776, Jan.
Shuldham relieved by Lord Howe . . .	„ July
Burgoyne surrendered at Saratoga . . .	1777, Oct. 17
The French Government concluded a treaty of alliance with the Congress of the revolted Colonies	1778, Feb. 6

[1] The detailed history of this war, so far as it has been printed, may be read in Beatson's *Naval and Military Memoirs* (vols. iv. v. vi.), an honest but clumsy compilation; and from the French point of view in *Histoire de la Marine française pendant la Guerre de l'Indépendance américaine*, par E. Chevalier, Capitaine de Vaisseau. For the political and general history of the time there can be no better reference than to Mr. Lecky's *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. iv. (Cabinet Edition).

Admiral Keppel, in command of the Channel fleet, seized the French frigates Licorne and Pallas, and the war with France began without any positive declaration on either side . .	1778, June 17
Indecisive battle off Ushant	„ July 27
A powerful French fleet, under M. d'Estaing, appeared outside Sandy Hook, but after waiting some days came to the conclusion that the defensive line formed by Howe was too strong to be forced, and withdrew	„ July 22
D'Estaing appeared off the harbour of Rhode Island, when five English frigates and a sloop were burnt or sunk by order of the commodore	„ Aug. 7
The French fleet entered the harbour of Rhode Island	„ „ 8
Howe resigned the command to Rear-Admiral James Gambier	„ Sept. 25
Vice-Admiral Byron arrived at Sandy Hook and assumed the command	„ „ 26
Sir Peter Parker at Jamaica first learnt of the war with France by the capture of the Minerva .	„ Aug. 21
Spain declared war against England . . .	1779, June 16
The Spaniards laid siege to Gibraltar, while the combined fleets, under D'Orvilliers and Cordova, appeared off Plymouth and blocked the Channel	„ Aug.
Byron having gone to the West Indies the command at New York remained with Gambier, who was superseded by Rear-Admiral Arbuthnot	„ Aug. 25
Sir George Rodney, after defeating the Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent, and relieving Gibraltar in January 1780, and fighting three indecisive actions with the French fleet, near Martinique, in April and May, went to New York to strengthen the fleet, of which he took command, much to the disgust of Arbuthnot; but finding that no effort in that quarter was intended by the French, he returned to the West Indies	1780, Nov.

Lord Cornwallis commanded a detached force of the army in Virginia and Carolina . .	1780–1
The French squadron, under M. du Ternay, attempting to take up a position in Lynnhaven Bay, so as to interfere with Cornwallis's communications by sea, was obliged to retire, after an indecisive action with Arbuthnot . .	1781, Mar. 16
Cornwallis, having established himself at York-town, was there blocked in by the French fleet under the Comte de Grasse	„ Sept.
Rear-Admiral Graves, who, on the departure of Arbuthnot, had succeeded to the chief command, attempted to relieve Cornwallis, but was defeated and obliged to return to New York .	„ Sept. 5
Cornwallis surrendered	„ Oct. 19
Rodney defeated the Comte de Grasse under the lee of Dominica	1782, April 12
Howe commanded the Channel fleet, and relieved Gibraltar	„ Oct.
Peace was concluded.	1783, Feb.

James' Journal, however, cannot be considered as an important contribution to general history. It is simply the account of affairs as they appeared to a subordinate officer, who, by his rank and position, had little opportunity of knowing more than what he himself saw, or heard as current gossip. The diary at York-town is extremely interesting as a relation of patent facts; but of the peculiar embarrassments and difficulties which beset Cornwallis, Clinton, and Graves, the writer knew nothing. He dwells, for instance, on the assurance of support which Cornwallis received from Clinton; he does not seem to have known or ever understood that by the defeat of Graves on September 5, and by the enormous superiority of the French fleet in American waters, relief was practically impossible. But of the failure of the fireships

(p. 117), of the sufferings of the garrison (pp. 122–3), and of the overwhelming fire of the enemy (p. 124), he had an everyday experience, and has left us a record of the deepest interest and of very great value. Similarly his narrative of the capture of Martinique, and of the siege of Fort Mathilde, must be considered as mainly personal, and as a commentary on the more stately and laboured history written for publication. To him the having to sleep in wet clothes (p. 237), to drink putrid water (p. 251), to pay a guinea for a pot of pilchards (p. 238), and such like, were matters of more immediate consequence than even the progress of the enemy, and many details here given are not to be found anywhere else. The cruise of El Corso, too—adventurous, romantic as it was—furnished no incident of historical importance; and though James' account of it is fully substantiated by the ship's log, it is unmentioned in our naval histories.

It is thus that the special interest of the journal lies in its allusion to, or casual mention of, points of everyday service or manner of life. It will be noticed, for instance, that at sea the cutters were stowed in-board (p. 16); that midshipmen wore uniform in 1771 (pp. 8, 33), that the popular story of lieutenants buying and wearing second-hand soldiers' red-coats is entirely unsupported, and is, in fact, inferentially contradicted by the whole journal; that on board a 32-gun frigate mates had berths and slept in cots (p. 22); and that these berths, though 'uncomfortable' (p. 38), and, being 'orlopian,' necessarily dark, were large enough to contain 'a handsome table and half-a-dozen chairs'

(p. 25). But perhaps the most noticeable of all these is the frequency with which men and officers were on short allowance of provisions, and more especially of water. The 'one ounce of pork only' (p. 69) may be, and probably is, an exaggerated recollection; but even half—not to say one-third—allowance, and half a pint of water, seem to have been not uncommon. Whether the seamen of the present day, to whom 'six upon four' is practically unknown, and without the stimulating 'oil of cat' (p. 351) as a digestive, could or would carry out such a cruise as that of El Corso, is for the future to determine.

Some years since the early part of the Journal was lent to the late W. H. Kingston, with permission to adapt portions of it to his own use, which he accordingly did—not very successfully, from a naval point of view—in his tale of 'Hurricane Hurry.' The Journal is now printed in its entirety, and *verbatim* from James' MS.; the involved sentences, the confused grammar, the frequent malapropisms are left exactly as James wrote them. In a few places only has a word, carelessly omitted, been supplied, and then always in square brackets. But the spelling has been regulated agreeably to modern usage; the names of men are spelt, whenever possible, according to their own signature, and the names of places as in the best modern maps.

During James' residence in London, whilst in command of the Mercury or Maria, probably in 1788 (p. 172), his old west-country friend, Sir Joshua Reynolds, painted the portraits of him and his wife. These are now in the possession of his granddaughter,

Miss Vaillant, who has kindly permitted that of James to be photographed for this volume (see *frontispiece*). The other portrait of James (p. vii.) is from a miniature now in the possession of his grandson, Vice-Admiral G. L. Sulivan, painted at some unremembered date, which the uniform shows to have been between 1812 and 1825, probably about 1814–5. The 'Plan of the Attack on Omoa' (p. 73) is from an original draught by James in the Journal; and the 'Escape of El Corso' (p. 378), from a painting by Luny, in 1806, after a sketch by James.

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JOURNAL

OF REAR-ADMIRAL

BARTHOLOMEW JAMES

PART I

THE following narrative of my peregrinations during my servitude at sea was first written in the gloomy habitation of a prison at Ou-Trou,[1] in the island of Saint Domingo, merely with a view to chase away the tedious hours of confinement, and draw my ideas from meditating so sad a prospect as the House of Want. Apologies will therefore be unnecessary to all who consider it only as a sea journal divested of its usual jargon and tautology, the more readily to recall to my mind the various changes of my orlopian days, and closely connect the chain of adventures that accompany me through the service of the navy.

On the north-east side of the street, about half-way between the Fish and Flesh Markets in the sea-port town of Falmouth, and on the 28th day of December, 1752 (commonly called Innocents' Day),

[1] See *post*, pp. 58 *et seq.* James always speaks of the place by this name; in the maps it is Le Trou.

and as near as possible at the silent and solemn period of thirty-six minutes past two o'clock in the morning by my father's watch, Mrs. Catherine Gwenap, the then celebrated female chief of the obstetric art, introduced me with all the usual form and ceremony to the family of the Jameses, as the unquestionable child of my mother, Joan, and the reputed son of my father, Richard; seriously proclaiming me the ninth, as I was also the last, of their promising offspring; and on the 29th day of January following, the Rev. Edward Walmsley, rector of the town, performed the first sacrament of the Christian church on me, and baptised me by the name of Bartholomew, in compliment to my grandfather, Bartholomew Body, of the parish of St. Kivern and county of Cornwall.

My father's father—and every rational person will allow that is tracing a man's pedigree far enough back nowadays—was a very respectable merchant of the town of Falmouth, who left a numerous family handsomely provided for, and died in his sixty-fourth year. My mother's father—for it may be thought disrespectful if I do not mention him—was an opulent farmer in the parish aforesaid; and, although not a very shining character in the drawing-room himself, had foreseen the necessity of a few accomplishments, and wisely given his daughter the benefit of a dancing master and a profuse quantity of the best and most fashionable dresses, which by the time she had gained her sixteenth year, and with the temptation of a snug little estate, of the then value, remember, of 100*l.* per annum, which the old boy made over to her, firmly secured her the title of wife, with all the immunity, privilege, exemption, and right of speech thereunto annexed, and which I will do my mother the justice to say she exercised her right in to the fullest extent all the days of her life.

From a variety of unsuccessful schemes in business, and by the inscrutable decree of Providence, my father had sunk both his own property and that of my mother's, by the time I was breeched, so that a plentiful scarcity of the needful prevailed in the family for a considerable time; nor indeed did my father ever again so far rally as to put his disordered finances in such a state as to give him the heart-rending necessity of employing a lawyer to make his will; for the most he could or did accomplish was to keep such an establishment as to provide a comfortable state of existence for himself and my mother, which, I rejoice to say, amidst all the vicissitudes of fortune, he was enabled to do.

I do not know a circumstance that requires more consideration than that of giving Christian names to children; for there are so many that sit so awkward and sound so extremely harsh, independent of the bad effect they have upon many other occasions, that really the most serious consequence may be dreaded from the effect they are likely to produce in one's journey through life. Now my mother's was, in my father's opinion, one of these; for he hated the name of Joan as he did the devil, and I will take upon me to say, he never once called her so from the first day he saw her to the hour of his death; and as he had substituted no other, he was always at a loss to draw her attention when he had occasion to call her; so that before my mother could suppose my father was addressing himself to her, he had generally thrown himself into a passion and had disappeared. Now there was a vast deal of fractious whim in my mother's disposition; and in some of her freakish humours she would determine not to understand my father with all his 'Hollos,' 'My dears,' and peevish insinuations about names.

It was at one of these periods when she was so

inclined, that my father wanted to consult with her about my going into the navy; and having had an offer from Lieutenant Glover, of his Majesty's cutter Folkestone, to put me on the books of that vessel, he had in vain holloed at the bottom of the staircase, in his usual way, for ten minutes without any success, when my mother, who had come down the servants' passage, came softly behind him and coolly demanded the occasion of his frightful and vociferous hollos, adding at the same time that if it was her he wanted, she had a name. Thunderstruck at such a retort, and totally at a loss for words to express his indignation at a rebuke so very unexpected and, as he considered, improper before the domestic part of the family, my father turned hastily about, muttered (I really fear) some oaths and reflections on the confounded tongues of women, and, without waiting a second, flew to his office and accepted Lieutenant Glover's offer.

Now, had my mother entertained the smallest notion of the important business my father wanted to consult her about, she would, I have often heard her declare, have answered at the first hollo, and opposed, with all her influence, her son Bat's going to sea; for she had no favourable opinion of the plan, from the apprehension of the dangers that attend the profession, and the want of interest to secure situations that would lead to the channel of promotion; she, therefore, as circumstances had so turned out, could only enter a solemn protest against the plan, and in some measure be even with my father by declaring it was his intention to sacrifice the only hope of her family. So that, had not the affair happened which I have related above, it is more than probable I should have continued a burden on my friends, and been dependent all my life for the means of procuring a comfortable liveli-

hood; for I am certain, had my father and mother met in good humour, or had the debate taken place just before bedtime, that my mother would have totally done up my father before they fell asleep, as she generally succeeded with him on all occasions within the curtains, and would no doubt have done so in this instance respecting me.

It was on the Feast of Pentecost, which you all know, or ought to know, is fifty days after Easter, transferred among Christians to the festival of Whitsuntide, and in the year of our Lord 1764, that I was first borne on the books of the Folkestone, and commenced my *entrée* in the royal navy, being then (as does appear from the particular statement of my birth) exactly eleven years five months and thirteen days old—Whit Sunday happening in that year on the 10th day of June. Now the cutter to which I belonged, being stationed at Bideford, I was removed from the school over the Market House, kept by Sinclear, to old Allen's in Cold Harbour, Bideford, being just able to read to my old blind grandmother on my mother's side, who lived with us, a chapter in the Bible; and tell my father how many times a coach wheel, of any diameter, would turn round in going to Penryn.

Now let us suppose that I have returned again to Falmouth, to launch more immediately into my profession, with the additional knowledge of setting springles, and marking in woodcocks; for you are to understand that the chief part of the time I was in Devonshire, I lived with my brother-in-law, Mr. Bruton, and had three miles to go to school, and of course the same to return; that was, when I really did go, which was seldom more than half my time, as he generally contrived to pick me up on my quitting the house, and employ me unknown to my sister till the expected hour of my return; and

highly pleased with what I considered a great proof of his kindness, I used to eat my school pasty in the fields, and frequently spend the afternoons in robbing the gardens and orchards of my kind associate. And now, my friends, take a view of me, receiving the blessing of my parents and a sea chest of clothes, containing, among other articles, a concise Epitome of Navigation, an English dictionary, and my grandmother's Family Bible, handed down regularly for the last century, with the loss only of the first twelve chapters of Genesis, which, from my grandmother's blindness for forty years, she, very fortunately for her peace of mind, never knew were missing. With those three books it was intended I should complete my education, and smooth my journey through this world of trouble and iniquity; and I trust it will be found that I have benefited from the first, improved by the second, and shall obtain the rewards offered to the penitent and sorrowful sinner in the last.

I crossed the Atlantic for the first time in his Majesty's packet Duncannon, Captain Charles Edwards, and after visiting Madeira and the West India Islands from Barbadoes to Jamaica, returned to Falmouth on Christmas Eve, 1767; and having completed sixteen more voyages in the Duke of York, with Captain Dickinson, to Lisbon, I was set adrift to take my chance in the service of the navy, with the last supply of clothes and money (and precious little there was of the latter) that I ever received from my friends.

There were a great many youngsters who had never before been to sea, in the neighbourhood of Falmouth, who were recommended as well as myself to Captain Wallis[1] of the Torbay; and never shall I

[1] Samuel Wallis, captain in 1757, commanded the Dolphin

forget, O my friend and old messmate Richard Marsingall, thy good old mother's joy at communicating the news of her success to thee, nor can I now help smiling at the flattering picture she drew of thy situation when she awoke thee on that day before thy usual hour. 'Richard,' said she, 'my dear son Richard, get up, thou art made for ever.' 'What am I made, mother?' replied my friend Marsingall, in the utmost surprise and astonishment. 'Oh,' said she, 'Richard, my tender life, thou art made a midshipman of ——' Alas! little, my good lady, didst thou know what a sea of trouble thy son had to go through; little didst thou conjecture what innumerable difficulties he was about to encounter, and 'the snubs that patient mids from their superiors take,' or thou wouldst not have supposed by his being a midshipman he was made for ever; though literally it was the case, for, poor fellow, he never was made anything else, but died before he had served his time.

But to proceed. There were, as I before observed, a great many youngsters, beside myself, who were to join the Torbay from Falmouth, and the tailors were all set at work to make us the most fashionable midshipmen's uniforms—a dress that to a certainty they never were employed on before; for who can paint the ridiculous figure we cut, or what tongue can describe the feelings we experienced at our reception on board in the mistaken dresses we exhibited?

If you have ever resided in Cornwall, my good friend, during the Christmas season, you may have seen some of the most learned of the vulgar enter in disguise, and before the gentry personate cha-

in a voyage of discovery and circumnavigation 1766–8. From 1780 to 1783 he was an extra commissioner of the navy, and again from 1787 till his death in 1795.

racters, which is termed by us west country folks a 'geese dance.' Now, nothing in nature could better represent that ancient custom than our group on entering the quarter deck of a seventy-four, commanded by one of the proudest men in the navy, and surrounded by a numerous set of smart, well-dressed officers: Mr. Peard (who being the oldest) first entered as hero of the drama, with bob wig, white lapels, white waistcoat and blue irresistibles, with midshipmen's buttons and a large brass-mounted hanger, with the additional set-off of a narrow gold-laced hat and a large waterproof pair of boots. Next came your humble servant with the true *lippy* cut of Mr. Joseph Penrose; a coat with all sides radius, touching the ground, and so convenient that it would meet and button in front to the very bottom; my white cuffs were exactly half the sleeves and came just to the bowing of the elbow; my waistcoat was white, with skirts to the knees, but fortunately hid from the sight, as was also my white small-clothes by the uncommon up and down skirts of my coat. I had on white thread stockings, shoes and buckles, a plain cocked hat and a prodigious long silver sword; and but for the confounded cut of my dress I should have done tolerably well, as the uniform was correct in all other respects. It will be needless to give an account of Paynter's and Marsingall's dresses, as they were more ridiculous if possible than those I have described: the one with a large sword, brass mounted, the other a green-handled hanger; so that no two of us were in any one point equipped alike, though we had been all rigged within two miles of each other; that is to say, at Falmouth, Penryn and Flushing.

I remember often to have seen the performers of a geese dance obliged to make a precipitate retreat from some houses where the family have not

relished the custom, and upset each other as they are flying perhaps from some violent housekeeper with a hot poker. Such exactly was our case when this great circumnavigator circumambulated us, and with a stamp of his foot bid us begone and instantly get cut down, reduced and made decent by the Plymouth tailors. Oh my friend Joseph Penrose, how would thy harmless soul have been disturbed and shook, to see us trying who could be foremost in the retreat from this man-of-war! how, at that moment, amidst the mirth of the knowing orlopians, did I (God forgive me!) curse thy inexperienced noddle, thy shears and all the instruments of thy profession; but above all what was my concern to find that it was past the skill and art of the most dexterous of thy brother snips to alter my unfortunate clothes to anything fashionable or military, and that I was obliged to have a new suit before I could again venture to appear before the tribunal I had so recently experienced so mortifying a rebuke from; and merely because thou, O Joseph, hadst not the knack, nor any of thy journeymen the dexterity, to cut according 'to the form and fashion of the times.'

To make amends, however, for the discouragement and oppression of spirits we experienced on this unfortunate occasion, we were handsomely received and complimented on our appearance at our return on board, and very soon initiated into all the mystery of the orlop, where I very soon perfected myself in all the knowing tricks of a midshipman, and completed my examination, by composing 'bowls of punch by the rules of trigonometry, and proving the purser a rogue by Gunter's Scale.' After quitting Plymouth for Portsmouth, and expending a few months in Channel parade cruises, the Torbay was ordered to Plymouth to lay a guard-ship, in May

1771, when I quitted her, and returned to Portsmouth to his Majesty's sloop of war Falcon, Captain Cuthbert Baines, then fitting out for a West India station.

On the 24th August we touched at Falmouth in our way down Channel, when I had an opportunity of taking leave of my friends for three years, and, of course, the benefit of picking up a few articles among them for the use of our mess. We made a stay of a few days at Madeira, and, without any particular circumstance offering, arrived at English Harbour, Antigua, October 21, where we found several ships of war, under the flag of Rear-Admiral Man.[1] A dispute having taken place on the passage between Mr. Alexander Dick, the surgeon's mate, and myself, which was to be decided on our arrival in the West Indies, we went on shore the morning of the 22nd, and, not being able to procure pistols without a discovery of our intention, fought with our hangers until each was so disabled by cuts that it was mutually agreed we should defer the final settlement of the dispute until we were able to procure pistols; when, after dressing and binding up our wounds, but unable to put on our coats, which we had taken off upon the occasion, we returned on board and were both put under an arrest by Captain Baines, who—to make short of this little anecdote—kept us so until we had agreed to an arbitration by the gun-room officers, mutually chosen for the purpose, when, as in most cases of such a nature, it was determined we were both alike culpable, and directed to shake hands.

Disputes having arisen about this period with the Caribs of St. Vincent, who Government

[1] Robert Man, captain in 1745, rear-admiral in 1770. He was afterwards commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean, and died, admiral of the blue, in 1783.

wanted to dispossess of their settlements, in exchange for some on any island better suited to their genius and manner of life, Major-General Dalrymple, with two regiments sent from America and the assistance of other troops from the islands and his Majesty's ships on the station, was sent to enforce obedience to the terms proposed by the Commissioners appointed on the occasion. But this expedition did not succeed as was expected; for after many disasters in landing the troops in a most violent surf, by boats upsetting and drowning a number of sailors and soldiers, and a few skirmishes on shore in which we lost but an inconsiderable number of men, a treaty was agreed on, which confirmed them in the perpetual right of their possessions. In August 1772, we were, with the Chatham, Seahorse and Active, dismasted and driven on shore, in English Harbour, Antigua, in the most violent hurricane ever at that time remembered in the West Indies, which levelled with the ground all the houses and stores in the Dock Yard, the Naval Hospital, and all the dwellings for miles round; and it was not before the ships were cleared even to the keelson, and the greatest purchase that could be invented used, that we were enabled to get them off. This circumstance obliged us to heave down, during which time I had the misfortune to break my right knee, for which I was sent to the hospital, where I continued nineteen weeks, in great doubt of ever again being able to bend the joint or have the use of my leg.

In the beginning of 1773 I was appointed acting lieutenant of the Falcon, by Vice-Admiral Parry[1]

[1] William Parry, captain in 1744; rear-admiral in 1762; died, admiral of the blue, in 1779. His daughter, Lucy, married in 1770 Captain William Locker, the friend and correspondent of Nelson.

(who had superseded Admiral Man), and wore the lieutenant's uniform from that time to our return to England, not without hopes of continuing the lapels[1] after the expiration of the station ; but in that, as in many other things, I have found myself too sanguine in my expectations throughout the whole of my servitude in the navy.

Become, however, of some consequence by removing from the berth of a midshipman into the gun-room with officers, and shining away with what the orlopians term white boot-tops, I felt myself quite another thing, and resolved to push forward among the Creole ladies.

Soon after this the following adventure befell me.[2] Having been invited among the other officers of the ship to a supper and ball by a lady whose son was a midshipman of the ship, it fell to my lot to dance with a Miss D., who, being an invalid, quitted the company at a very early hour, and had a black servant with a gig in waiting to take her to her father's house, which was about a mile out of town. I insisted upon having the honour of seeing her safe to the pen,[3] and drove off in the best style I was capable of, which I soon perceived was, in the lady's opinion, a very hazardous one, as she very kindly advised me to let the boy lead the horse as the road was both intricate and much out of repair. Vanity, however, construed this apprehension into a desire of being better acquainted with me, and, without having the smallest idea of her before, I no sooner quitted the reins than I swore in the handsomest manner that I was deeply in love, and that unless it was reciprocated I should be the most

[1] The white facings of a lieutenant's coat.

[2] At Montserrat.

[3] Pen is the West Indian name for a cattle station, but here denotes a country residence of the better class

miserable youth existing, observing at the same time that nothing would have authorised so precipitate a discovery of my affection but the short period we were to remain this time at Montserrat, and the little probability there was of my again having the honour of personally declaring my inviolable attachment.

'Dear sir,' replied the sweet girl, 'we are nearly at my father's door. I have no time to answer now, but if you will drink tea with me at my aunt's to-morrow, in the town, at six o'clock, I will be there to receive you. This card will point you out the house;' and then, repeating Juliet's words,

> Thou knowest the mask of night is on my face,
> Else would a maiden blush bepaint my cheek,

she ordered the gig to stop, as it was necessary her father should not see me, lest her appointment in town should be defeated. So, taking a delicious kiss to seal the contract, I sprung from the carriage and gently travelled back to join my friends, flattering myself I soon should learn the art of love.

On my return to the festive dance I soon engaged another partner, and, without considering once how deeply I had been wounded by Miss D. the hour before, I fell most desperately in love again, and, with the same artful tale with which I had before succeeded, I won again my second partner's heart. The honour of leading her home some distance through the town gave me an opportunity of requesting permission to pay her my respects on the following day, which I obtained, with an invitation to tea; but recollecting that at six I was engaged with my friend Miss D., I apologised for declining that honour by saying I was obliged to be on board at six, but that I would make my bow to her between the hours of four and five, and not forget to bring

her the little kitten she had solicited from the ship; and, begging she would allow me the felicity of a salute as a prelude to our future happiness, I proceeded to the inn, and from thence with my messmates returned on board.

The captain was on the following day to dine with the governor, and had ordered the barge at three o'clock, Lieutenant Dobbs having been invited to accompany him. I was therefore obliged to wait until they had left the ship, fearing the consequence of a refusal had I asked to go under the circumstances, leaving the ship without a lieutenant.

Now, whilst we are waiting for the tedious departure of the captain, let me take you back, my friend, to the two ladies, who (oh! unfortunately to relate) were first cousins, and their appointments both made at one house, their Aunt D.'s, where the one from the country had arrived at noon; suppose them both delighted with the idea of having made a conquest of a young lieutenant of twenty-one, and that they had determined to make each other their confidant.[1] [They did so; and, on discovering the state of the case, they resolved to tell the whole story to their friends, and all together to receive me on my arrival and laugh me out of the town.]

Now to return on board and prepare for the captain's departure, which took place exactly at three, after having directed me to send the barge on shore for him at eight o'clock. No sooner was he off from the ship's side than I flew to my cabin, and expended the next hour in decorating and equipping my person for the ladies; and, having put a piece of ribbon round the neck of a beautiful little kitten and ordered the cutter to be manned, I

[1] The MS. has here a long description of an imaginary conversation between the cousins.

left the ship without leaving the necessary orders for the barge to go for the captain; and, unmindful of any other but the great and important event of meeting the dear girls, I hastened to the door where I had the evening before parted from what I thought then the loveliest of her sex. Oh, my friends, had I known the storm that was hanging over me, had I but the smallest idea of the dreadful trial I was to experience, or had I but considered names and circumstances, I would sooner have suffered short allowance and confinement for a year than have ventured before this awful tribunal.

However, I must cut this part of my narrative short by observing that the Falcon returned to Europe from Barbadoes in August 1774, the captain, another midshipman, a lieutenant of marines and myself the only remaining officers that went out of England in her, the others having died or changed their situations. Gratitude obliges me to say that I received such advantages, attention and civility from Captain Baines as no time will obliterate and no change of circumstances ever authorise me to forget.

From the time of my arrival in England in the Falcon to the middle of February 1775 I served in the Folkestone cutter, stationed at Bideford, under the command of Lieutenant Glover; I then joined the Wolf sloop of war at Penzance, under Captain Thomas Hayward, with whom I continued till the September following, having in that time attended the funerals of his child, his wife and himself.

The remaining details of hardships and disappointments in a continued chain of adventures, as scrupulously true and correct in time and circumstance as deficient in point of language, having for the greater part been committed to paper during the day on which it happened; wherein, as it's for my

own amusement, I have carefully avoided any other assistance than what my knowledge of the event has furnished me with.

Having, from a great variety of pleasing chances, been rated one of the mates of the Orpheus,[1] I joined that ship in Hamoaze, October 15,[2] 1775. I found her fitting for sea with all imaginable despatch. On the 16th[2] we went into the Sound, and on the 30th sailed thence for America with the Chatham, Rear-Admiral Shuldham,[3] who was going out to take upon him the chief command.

The wind and weather continuing remarkably fair, we lost sight of the English shore the following day, and in a short time was two or three hundred leagues to the westward of Scilly. We kept to the northward, notwithstanding the season of the year, and on the 6th of November,[4] meeting with a heavy gale of wind and shipping a tremendous sea over the starboard chesstree, we lost a fine cutter of twenty-four feet keel off the larboard skids, together with some of the rails and carlings of the head. From the 7th in the evening, at which time the gale ceased, to the 10th in the morning, we had very tolerable weather; when, lying with our topsails on the cap and courses hauled up, in a stark calm and without the least appearance of bad weather, a

[1] A 32-gun frigate.

[2] These dates are inaccurate. By the pay-book, James joined the Orpheus on September 2; and by the log, the ship went out into the Sound on October 7. She sailed on the afternoon of the 30th.

[3] Molineux Shuldham, captain in 1746, rear-admiral in 1775; created Lord Shuldham in the peerage of Ireland in 1776. He was afterwards commander-in-chief at Plymouth, and died, admiral of the white, in 1798.

[4] This and many of the following dates are here incorrectly given. According to the log, the weather on November 6-7 was 'light winds with part calm,' and the cutter was lost off the *starboard* skids, on the 10th.

sudden gust of wind obliged us to clap the ship before it. The wind continued to freshen and change a quarter of the compass at a time, raising such a prodigious sea as I never before saw equalled. The first attack of the wind on the ship carried away our topsail sheets, clewlines and buntlines. The main clew-garnets, buntlines and leechlines also broke immediately, and main topmast stay-sail, jib and several other sails, with the topsails and courses blowing in pieces from the masts and yards. Unable to bring the ship to in her present situation, the only chance left us was that of scudding, which became at last very dangerous, as the violence of the wind and increase of the sea had made it difficult to keep the deck. The sea had broken in abaft and made a fair sweep fore and aft, nor were the united efforts of the ship's company capable of preventing it, with all the additional plank and shores they made use of on this occasion. The ship was running at this time (as supposed by the officers and ship's company in general) at the rate of fourteen miles an hour, which will not appear very strange when it is considered that all her sails were loose, and consequently did not a little contribute to her going.

To paint a true description of this horrid gale, and to discover the distressed situation we were in, amidst a dark winter's night, severe frost and snow, and constant watchings for forty-eight hours, is totally beyond the power of words to express. I shall therefore observe only, that the gale having somewhat abated on the evening of the 11th, and the wind shifting round suddenly from north-west to north-east, we brought to under a fore stay-sail at the mizen mast, and having replaced some of the most necessary parts of the rigging, divided the

ship's company into four watches, and sent all those except the watch to sleep.

The following day was employed in unbending the remaining canvas from the yards, and replacing them with a new suit of sails fore and aft, reeving new running rigging, and repairing the stern frame. Here I must observe that from the commencement of this horrid gale we had parted company with the admiral, and never again saw him till we joined in America, when we learned he had suffered extremely, and that having lost all his sails, quarter-galleries and head-rails, he had broached to, and nearly gone down.

The weather continued to blow fresh till the 15th, when we had another smart gale, during which we lay to under a balance-mizen; in this gale we lost the bumkins and remaining part of the carlings, rails &c. of the head and a part of the starboard quarter gallery. Nothing was wanting to prove the extreme severity of the season; but yet, notwithstanding, Captain Hudson [1] determined to make the northern passage, concluding that the voyage would be greatly protracted by any other step. The 19th we had a severe gale, which on the 21st increased to a violent one indeed. About one o'clock this morning a heavy gust carried away our fore mast fifteen or twenty feet above the forecastle, which fell over the lee fore chains, and remained in a disagreeable situation for some time; in clearing which, the main topmast stay was cut, which carried away the main topmast, and wounded nine men. At half-past eight o'clock in the morning the main mast also

[1] Charles Hudson, captain of 1765. His commands were unfortunate. The Orpheus was one of the ships burnt at Rhode Island in August 1778, and the Richmond, which he commanded in 1781, was taken by the French fleet under Count de Grasse off the Chesapeake, on September 9. He was superannuated, with the rank of rear-admiral, in 1793.

went by the board, crushed down the booms, and stove the long boat and a large cutter all to pieces, as well as the gallows bitts, gangway rails, and some of the fore part of the quarter deck. Having with difficulty cleared the ship of the wreck, we hoisted a fore topgallant-sail to the stump of the fore mast to keep the ship before the sea, which ran amazing high and frequently broke all over us. The situation we were in at this period was distressing beyond all description. The people was so fatigued that they daily fell sick, nor was there the least probability of a few days' good weather to repair our defects, as the heavy falls of snow totally prevented the erecting jurymasts, without which we could make no progress.

Captain Hudson was now resolved to bear up and sail for England, the wind at this time favouring his intention; we accordingly kept her east, which was nearly our course to the Lizard, from which we were distant 460 leagues. Some days had passed ere the least alteration had taken place in the weather, which at last became more moderate. This opportunity was immediately embraced to erect jurymasts, which was completed by the 26th, and equal, if not superior, to any of the kind fitted at sea. The 26th, 27th, and 28th was again blowing weather, during which time we lay to; on the latter of which days the cover of the armchest fell out of the mizen-top, knocked out four of the gunner's teeth, cut his right eye in a most shocking manner, and broke his right shoulder in two places, notwithstanding which he soon recovered, and in two months returned to his duty. I must here make a small digression, and observe that in the gale of the 10th we lost a whole suit of sails, and on the 21st another, the sails on the mizen mast excepted; the third and only remaining suit was cut up for jury sails at

different times; and thus situated, the captain again determined to gain the coast of America; the course was accordingly changed to the westward, and we went on for some days tolerably well.

But a few days was sufficient to discover that the season was big with raging winds as we advanced towards the American shore, and that we was to experience every great distress that seamen are in general subject to; for on the 2nd of December a heavy gale of wind arose which carried away our jury maintopmast and topsail yard, and split the sail from clew to earing. The weather now never continued fair or moderate, and gale followed gale with more severity than ever; and I shall here content myself with observing, that from the 4th of December to the 20th, we lost four topmasts, six topsail yards, one mainsail, one foresail, two main topsails and one fore topsail, besides innumerable other accidents too tedious to give a particular detail of; for our masts and yards was no other at this time than studding-sail booms, and all our square sails had been for some time expended, together with most of our stay-sails and studdingsails. Notwithstanding this our unpleasing situation, we were determined to keep Christmas Day, which we celebrated with dishes and chairs lashed to the table, amidst a heavy gale of wind. The 28th being the anniversary of my birth, I gave the Royal Africans[1] a dinner, and passed a jovial day, which even a tremendous gale of wind was incapable of preventing, and which day differed nothing from the 25th in point of living or weather.

I shall now come to the beginning of January

[1] In the end of one of his journals James gives a list of those who dined with him on his birthday from 1763 to 1826, but only the names. On this occasion eight names are given, but nothing to show the meaning of the term 'Royal Africans.'

1776, at which time our distresses were multiplied, and we had neither spars, sails, or anything left, except those then at the masts, and we had also the mortification to find our water grow short, having been put to an allowance of a pint a day. Our ship was grown so amazingly light, from the prodigious quantity of stores and provisions expended, that she not only became troublesome but very dangerous, as in some of the late gales she rolled so deep and quick that the guns in the galley drew the ring bolts from the side and broke loose; we were not within four hundred leagues of the coast at this period, nor [had] any more hopes of reaching it than we had a month back, and though the officers were great advocates for bearing up for the West Indies, yet Captain Hudson was determined to persevere, and reach America at all events.

On the 18th of January, from having unexpectedly a few days' moderate and fair weather, we got within twelve leagues of Cape Sambro; but the wind flying round to the westward, and as usual blowing tremendous gales with powerful falls of snow and dreadful severe frost, we were on the 25th, being eighty leagues from the cape, still more distressed for masts, yards and sails than ever, and on this day we were put to half a pint of water a man. The severity of the frost was such that we was unable to set our sails until boiling water was thrown on them, and our men now began to fall sick daily from the fatigue and hardships they underwent. Our ideas was so filled just now with misfortunes that it was usual to ask in relieving the deck what accidents had befallen us in the preceding watch; and I may venture to affirm that all hopes of ever seeing land again had vanished for some time from the breast of every individual in the ship. One night while I was sleeping in my cot a heavy squall

of wind, accompanied with a horrid sea, lay the ship on her beam ends, at which time seventy-four shot boxes broke adrift from the main mast and crushed down the frame of my berth, passing under my cot with a most hideous noise. I immediately sat up in my bed, and hearing the splitting of sails, the washing of water on the deck, the noise and bustle of the people, all joined to this horrible attack upon my berth, I conceived the long expected awful and final stroke had been given us, and fancied the ship then in the act of sinking, until I was relieved from those dreadful apprehensions by one of my messmates, who was turning up the idlers to assist in taking in the sails, when he informed me the ship had been in great danger, but was then brought to.

Words, in fact, are not sufficiently expressive, and my pen is equally defective in describing this unhappy passage. I shall therefore observe only that on January 31 we arrived at Halifax in Nova Scotia, after a passage of ninety-seven days,[1] ten weeks of which we had been under jurymasts; the second lieutenant, gunner and seventy-three men sick (twenty of which were frost-bit): the only square sail, a spritsail, at the mainyard for a mainsail; the ship covered strangely with ice, and such a wreck as hardly before ever [was] seen, having encountered forty-five heavy severe gales of wind. To prove the matter still further, I shall observe that the thanks of the commander-in-chief was gave to the captain and ship's company, and on the Sunday following we returned thanks to Almighty God for our safe arrival in Halifax, and for our happy deliverance from the hardships and perils of the sea.

[1] So in MS.; but the dates, which agree with those in the ship's log, make it ninety-three. See Appendix A.

We found in this harbour the Cerberus[1] frigate and Savage sloop of war, the first alongside the wharf heaving down, the second wearing Commodore Arbuthnot's[2] broad pennant. The inhabitants was not a little pleased with our arrival, as an attack on the town was hourly expected, for which they were very ill prepared; and on February 5th an express came in with an account of a body of the rebels being within a few hours' march of the town, which obliged us to get under arms for the defence of the dockyard. However, they advanced no nearer than a small village distant about twenty miles from Halifax, from which, having plundered it, they again returned to the southward. It's a matter worthy observation, that the severity of the frost was such at this time in Halifax that the meat which was served to the ship's company was always sawed in pieces with a cross-cut saw, as no other instrument could penetrate it; and innumerable shoals of fish of a peculiar fine taste were daily to be picked up on the surface of the ice, froze to death.

The 10th of this month the harbour was totally froze up, and all communication with the shore cut off, at which time we had a gang of men on shore fitting the rigging. Captain Hudson directed me to take a quartermaster with me, and endeavour, by

[1] Of 28 guns. She was burnt at Rhode Island in August 1778.

[2] Marriot Arbuthnot, captain in 1747, was at this time naval commissioner at Halifax. It was not altogether unusual for a commissioner to be on full pay and fly a broad pennant, which explains the mistake made by Sir Richard Hughes at Antigua in 1785. Arbuthnot became a rear-admiral in 1778; was commander-in-chief in North America from 1779 to 1781, during which time he had the celebrated quarrel with Rodney (October 1780), and fought an indecisive action with the French off Cape Henry on March 16, 1781. He had, fortunately, no further service, and died, admiral of the blue, in 1794.

breaking the ice, to get a boat on shore with provisions for the people. With the utmost difficulty we got into the boat astern, for it must be remarked that though the ice was four feet thick, it was of a substance incapable of bearing the weight of a man, occasioned by the rapidity of the tides. Having with the utmost difficulty reached about half way on shore, we began to discover the danger we were exposed to, as we made no progress but with the tide, which was setting us directly at sea in a large field of ice. Thus situated, Captain Hudson made the signal for us to return to the ship, but that I found totally impracticable. The Commodore, Captain Symons of the Cerberus and the master attendant was hailing me from the wharf also to return to the ship; in complying with which I increased my danger by getting more in the centre of the tide, and hundreds of people were assembled to see the fatal consequences that would befall two boats—another with a man and his son—attempting at that time to cross the harbour. However, just at dark, with the greatest exertions, we got near enough for a man to throw us a lead from the Cerberus' jib-boom end, and at length was hauled by it alongside of the wharf where she lay, having been six hours in the above situation, and both myself and the quartermaster frost-bit, and a sad witness of the other boat's distress, which was drove to sea and both the man and his son froze to death, having two days after been picked up at the entrance of the harbour. I did not return to the Orpheus for two days, during which I received all possible care and attention from Mr. Prowse, the master attendant, who was master of the Torbay when I belonged to her.

As there was no masts in store at this period, we were obliged to cut our own masts in the woods

about ten miles from Halifax, which piece of duty was as disagreeable as severe and employed us several days. Everything was uncommonly scarce in this port at this time, but infinitely more so on the arrival of Lord Shuldham and General Howe from Boston with the fleet and army, when we were immediately put to half allowance; and here I shall confess the civility I experienced from Captain Lee, of the Harriet packet, with whom I almost lived during his stay at Halifax, finding it so much more comfortable than the scanty allowance of a midshipman's table.

From the time of our arrival to the 4th of May we were employed fitting the ship for sea, on which day we quitted this port and stood to the southward; and on the night of the 8th spoke his Majesty's sloop Merlin, with two transports from Amboy bound to Halifax. On the 12th we spoke the Milford and Lively on a cruise, and that day arrived in Nantucket Road, Boston, where we found lying the Renown, Commodore Banks,[1] whose broad pennant we saluted with thirteen guns. During our stay here a constant cannonade was kept up by the rebels at the ships, which we occasionally returned. And on the night of the 14th, having been sent on shore to secure our boats with a party of men, while watering, I furnished my berth with a handsome table and half a dozen chairs. On the 15th we left this place, and cruised without any success till the 29th, when we fell in with and took the Ranger sloop from Nantucket, bound to the northward whaling. I was sent on board her as prize-master, with orders to carry her to Halifax; and on the 30th, taking with me the captain's coxswain and two men, together with the master and a boy belonging to the sloop, I

[1] Francis Banks, captain of 1760. He died in command of the Renown on June 18, 1777.

parted from the Orpheus, being about two hundred leagues from Halifax.

The weather blew hard till the 4th of June, on the morning of which day I was chased by a rebel privateer brig till five in the evening, when, finding she was coming up very fast with me and must inevitably speak me, I hauled up the ports, of which she had fourteen fresh painted, though not one gun; and conceiving our formidable appearance might serve to intimidate the enemy with the addition of some stratagem, I hove immediately about and crowded all the sail I could toward him, when he in his turn ran off as fast as possible. This sudden manœuvre, the meaning of which he had clearly mistaken, amused him till it was dark, when I altered the course from any he had seen me steer, and in this manner got clear of a very troublesome friend. The 6th I had a fine breeze, and the 7th made the land about four or five leagues to the westward of Halifax harbour, soon after which it fell a stark calm, when in the course of an hour I caught, with two lines only, one hundred and twenty-four fine large cod. The wind springing up with a thick fog, I unfortunately passed the entrance of the harbour three leagues before I discovered it, and on the 8th in the morning it blew a heavy gale of wind directly off shore to the northward. I stood to the eastward all night under a trysail and storm jib, and in the morning, the weather being more moderate, stood to the westward under close-reefed mainsail and double-reefed foresail, and at sunset was at the mouth of the harbour. But night coming on with the usual bad weather, and having forty fathoms of water, I was obliged again to run to sea.

The 10th I was again in with Chebucto Head, and having struck soundings on a reef of rocks, in 8 fathom, I immediately let go the anchor, as the

people as well as myself had taken no rest for forty-eight hours. Though from such a situation I had a right to expect the loss of both cable and anchor, yet I was fortunate enough to save them, and got under way at break of day in the morning, with a seeming prospect of getting soon into the harbour. But just as I was the length of Major's beach, and about to speak a Falmouth packet then coming down the river, she missed stays, which obliged me (being very near some dangerous rocks) to be quick in wearing; in consequence of which the boom came over, with the whole main sheet eased off, and carried it away in six different parts, which obliged me again to run from the narrow channel, and also lost me the satisfaction of speaking the packet; at one o'clock I got as high as George's Island, where, meeting with the accident of splitting my mainsail, I brought to, and leaving the care of the prize to the captain's coxswain, waited upon my Lord Shuldham, who gave me directions to come on board the Chatham, who in two hours carried me again to sea in a flag ship, with four shirts and one old uniform.

This fleet, which was bound to the attack of New York, consisted of his Majesty's ships, Chatham, Rear-Admiral Shuldham of the White (who had on board General Lord Percy, General Pigot, &c.), the Centurion, the Greyhound (having on board General Sir William Howe), Rose; Senegal and Merlin sloops of war, with about two hundred sail of transports having on board the army. The Greyhound parted company with the fleet the 13th, in the night, with an intention to go ahead and reconnoitre, and the main body of the fleet moved slowly on, from the frequent light winds and calms that accompanied us.

We arrived at Sandy Hook on the 2nd of July without meeting any remarkable circumstances,

where we found his Majesty's ship Phœnix with several sail of merchant ships. At noon the 4th the signal was made for the whole fleet to weigh, when the Chatham, passing through the centre, was cheered by every ship. I do not remember seeing a more pleasing sight, which the fineness of the day greatly contributed to, more particularly as we expected we were immediately going to the attack of New York. We made the necessary preparations for landing, on our passage up; and at sunset anchored in Gravesend bay; but, for reasons only known to the commanders-in-chief, we put off the landing of the troops for this night. At day-light the 5th the signal was made to weigh, the Phœnix, Rose and Senegal leading the fleet through the Narrows, but the wind dying away obliged us again to anchor. At four o'clock the signal was once more made to weigh, and the fleet boats manned; at six we passed the Narrows amidst a very unsuccessful fire from the rebels, having killed but very few; at seven we landed the army on Staten Island without opposition, when two or three hundred of the enemy surrendered themselves prisoners of war to the first division of grenadiers. Frequent skirmishes daily happened till the latter end of this month, when the Phœnix, Rose and Trial passed the town of New York amidst an incessant and tremendous fire from the batteries of Red Hook, Panler's Hook, and the garrison of New York, which was as warmly returned by the ships, who performed this piece of service to the astonishment of General Washington and his army.

The same day those ships passed the town, the Lord Viscount Howe arrived, and superseded Lord Shuldham as commander-in-chief in North America. The duty was very severe at this period, as we were frequently all night in guard boats, and

by day detached on various services with skirmishing parties from the army.

On August 10, at ten o'clock in the night, the Eagle made the signal for the approach of the enemy's fire ships, when the several boats appointed for that service put off and rowed towards the town, which prevented the attempts of the rebels on that night. On the 13th of August the Orpheus arrived from her cruise with seven prizes, and on the 14th I joined my ship, having been absent from her ten weeks. On the 16th we weighed and made sail towards Philadelphia, having this morning buried Mr. Lee, surgeon's second mate, and on the 24th we arrived at Cape Henlopen, where I was sent on shore with a flag of truce, to land forty masters of vessels, that had been taken by the different ships of war. I was received by a body of militia, who cut a most despicable figure, and who, in return for our civil treatment to their friends, gave me three cheers. We returned to New York the 27th, on which day the army landed on Long Island, and defeated the enemy in a pitched battle, which victory, if pursued, as the rebels crossed over to New York, must have ended the campaign, with infinite honour to the commander-in-chief, and saved the lives of hundreds of brave fellows.

About 1,500 of the enemy remained killed in the field of battle, 1,300 of which was thrown into one pit or grave, and a vast number more were smothered in mud, preferring that death to a charged bayonet, which closely pursued them. Among the prisoners taken in this day's action, was the Generals Sullivan and Sterling, who remained with the rear of the rebel army to cover the retreat of the main body in crossing Brooklyn Ferry. The Phœnix, Rose and Trial now returned from the North River, which, I forgot to observe, happened on the 13th, amidst the

most heavy cannonade that can be conceived. The 30th we again put to sea, having under our command the Niger and Greyhound frigates, and cruised off Long Island till September 3, when we returned to Sandy Hook, where we found orders again to proceed to sea and cruise for a division of Hessians daily expected from Europe, under convoy of the Repulse, which we met on the following morning and returned with them to Gravesend Bay.

On the 8th we moved up to Staten Island, and on the 10th, before the town of New York, where we received orders to prepare the ship for passing the batteries of New York up the East River. The 21st, about three o'clock in the afternoon, his Lordship made the signal for us to weigh, in company with the Phœnix, Roebuck, Carysfort and Rose, with a very light air from the westward. At half-past three the enemy's batteries opened and commenced a prodigious heavy cannonade on us, from which we were never a pistol shot till seven o'clock, and without once returning the fire; and though the shot went through and through us, we experienced little loss except in our rigging, which was terribly cut fore and aft, the people being all directed to lie down. The other ships were not so fortunate, having a number killed; among which was Mr. Hitchcock of the Roebuck, belonging to Falmouth, who was to have dined with me on that day had not the service prevented it.

We anchored in Kippes Bay at half-past seven, where the rebels were intrenched along the shore of York Island two miles, to the number of 15,000, and amused us all night with a constant fire from an eighteen-pounder, with which, from the darkness of the night or bad conduct, they only hit us twice. The following day we were directed to attack the batteries at Hell Gates, but the pilots refused to

take charge of the ship, by which means we escaped a severe thrashing.

The 23rd, at six in the morning, we weighed in company with the former ships, and anchored a little below Blackwell's Island on the York side, about fifty yards from the enemy's intrenchments, to which place the whole body as above immediately moved, frequently making signs and calling to us to come on shore. We continued without firing at each other till eleven o'clock, when the first division of flat boats appeared, coming down Bushwick Creek, having on board four thousand five hundred men under the command of General Howe. As soon as the boats arrived within fifty yards of the ships, the signal was made from the Phœnix to begin the attack on the enemy's lines.

It is hardly possible to conceive what a tremendous fire was kept up by those five ships for fifty-nine minutes, in which time we fired away, in the Orpheus alone, five thousand three hundred and seventy-six pounds of powder. The first broadside made a considerable breach in their works, and the enemy fled on all sides, confused and calling for quarter, while the army landed, but, as usual, did not pursue the victory, though the rebels in general had left their arms in the intrenchment. The havock was by no means so great as it would have been had we not been obliged to cease firing on the landing of the troops; however, the ground in some places was filled with the slain, and numbers got off with the loss of arms, &c.

As soon as the firing ceased from the ships I was sent in the barge to tow on shore the flat boats, when curiosity led me to follow the army through the works, where I saw a Hessian sever a rebel's head from his body and clap it on a pole in the intrenchments. While I was amusing myself with

these sights, and picking up some curious trifles, several volleys of musketry was fired from a boat belonging to the Orpheus at us, who had, in rowing along shore, taken us for rebels, as I had on a white linen jacket which I wore at my quarters, and which was all colours at this time with powder and dirt. As I knew the boat, I made signs of friendship, but all in vain; and I was obliged to throw away my little affairs and take to my heels, as the enemy had done before, amidst a constant fire from the boat, who fortunately only wounded one man slightly in the leg. On my arrival on board I found the second lieutenant amusing the captain with an account of his attack on a body of rebels, which I gave him to understand was myself and the barge's crew, by which I had lost some valuable swords and little trifles, which in the precipitate retreat before his arms I had left behind me. Captain Hudson permitted me to go again on shore with the above lieutenant, but all our little matters were taken, and we procured only nine drums and some fusees, one of which, being very handsome, I took from the hands of a rebel officer who lay dead in the field, and one of the drums I sent to the young Mr. Bluet of Falmouth by Captain Boulderson of the Halifax.

Mr. Barton leaving me by accident on shore, I rambled into the woods with one of the midshipmen of the Phœnix, who had with him the gunner and seven men. On our entrance into an orchard we took a rebel prisoner who had lain concealed there for some time. From this man we learned there had been a skirmish in the woods with the rebels and a body of the Hessians, and that the former was dispersed all round the woods. Having consulted each other on the consequences of advancing further from the ships, and pleased in some measure with the success of taking the above man, we determined to go in

quest of some more, and shortly after heard several voices in an orchard at the end of the wood, on which we assembled with our muskets presented to the gate, and levelling at some men we saw in the grass, were about to fire, when up start two or three hundred Hessians, with flaming large brass caps on, and with charged bayonets advanced rapidly towards us. The sudden unexpected surprise of such a visit alarmed us prodigiously, and we made signs of being friends, which had little or no effect in our favour, as on their coming close to us they knocked us down with their muskets, frequently using the word 'rebel,' for which they really took us. In vain I assured them with signs that we were part of the British navy, and pointed to my white cuff, having changed my clothes on going on board, that I might not a second time be taken for an American. But I was much surprised, and in fact at a loss how to act, when they pointed at a rebel officer who lay there with a leg shot off, who had on the very exact uniform of a midshipman, which having explained to each other, they again beat us unmercifully, and would undoubtedly have put their bayonets through us had not General Pigot, who commanded that party, and who knew me when in the Chatham, have come to our relief, when they made a thousand ridiculous apologies for their treatment, and we returned to our ships, in need of both cook and doctor, and totally weary of our expedition.

We weighed, and parting from the above ships, ran up between Blackwell's Island and the main, and came to in Turtle Cove, having on our passage struck on a rock, but got off with little or no damage. The 25th I was sent down to Lord Howe with some dispatches, having ten miles to row; and on my return, the people, having got drunk, mutinied and made an attack on me, which obliged me to use

my hanger, and by cutting them over their hands disabled them, in doing which I broke my hanger in two pieces, but first had very fortunately got the better of the most insensible part of them, two having promised to row on board, where I arrived in a most fearful situation about half-past one in the morning, when I had them sufficiently punished for their infamous conduct.

Our boats, while the ship was advanced on this service, constantly rowed guard abreast of Hell Gates, which is perhaps one of the most dangerous situations that can be imagined, its consequences being fatal to a vast number of ships and boats. During our stay in this river we supplied the ship with fresh provisions and vegetables, and recruited our sick, of which we had a vast number, on Blackwell's Island. The 29th, about eleven o'clock, the town of New York was set on fire by some of the rebels, and one-fourth of it burnt to the ground. The chief of those concerned in this business was detected, hung up by the heels, and their brains knocked out with the soldiers' muskets, while others were thrown into the flames and consumed with the houses; such was the consequence attending those unhappy villains who so far succeeded in their wishes as to destroy the property of individuals.

The rebels made an attack on Montizieurs [1] Island on the night of the 30th, but were repulsed and a major and several men taken prisoners; and on October 2nd I walked out to the encampment of our army at Kingsbridge, and having viewed the situation of both armies, whose advanced sentinels were within call of each other, saw, in returning, a rebel spy taken and hung immediately to a tree; he died with great heroism, lamenting only that he could

[1] Montresor, now Ward's Island.

not communicate his intelligence to his commander-in-chief, as he had done with success twice before.

[October] 3 we quitted this uncomfortable station and proceeded down the river; and on our way ran on board a transport, carried away our larboard fore-chains, cathead and small bower-anchor stock, and greatly damaged the transport. The 7th we dropped down to Staten Island, and on the 12th put to sea with his Majesty's ship Daphne under our command, and proceeded off the Capes of Philadelphia; on the 14th fell in with the Kingfisher, the Daphne then being gone in chase; and having discovered a sail in the south-east quarter, we also, with the above sloop of war, pursued her, and ran her on shore near Cape May. The boats from both ships were immediately sent to board her, while the Kingfisher was warped in to cover us, and we boarded amidst a heavy fire from the shore, where thousands of people had assembled to protect her. Finding it impossible to get her off, we set her on fire, with orders to quit her without loss of time, as we found her cargo consisted of three hundred and sixty barrels of powder, with some saltpetre and dry goods; but, unfortunately, before we had all left her, she blew up, and a mate and six men was blown to pieces in her. The oars of the other boats were all knocked to atoms, and two men had their ribs broke; but, considering the whole, we was amazingly fortunate, as the pieces of the vessel was falling all round for some time, and the air was totally darkened with the explosion. As soon as she blew up we gave the rebels three cheers and returned to our ships; and parting company with the Kingfisher, went in quest of the Daphne, which we joined this evening.

The 20th we took a small schooner from Philadelphia, bound to the West Indies with flour and Indian corn, and having taken out the flour, set her

on fire. The 24th, retook a brig from the coast of Guinea, which had been taken by the Congress and Chance privateers, and had on board about a thousand pounds' worth of ivory. She was sent to New York with one of our midshipmen, who was again taken on his passage and carried into Rhode Island, from thence to Providence, where he remained a prisoner six months. On the 30th, having again parted from the Daphne, we took an armed sloop mounting eight carriage four-pounders, fourteen swivels and four cohorns, and loaded with rum, porter, flour and bread. I was sent to take charge of her with two men and a boy, having no time to take any clothes with me, as another sail was seen from the masthead; and a few hours after, I lost sight of the Orpheus and was left in a heavy gale of wind in a very distressed situation, having split both my mainsail and foresail. I continued waterlogged till the 4th of November, when the gale somewhat abated, though I got neither dry nor clean things till the 25th; for notwithstanding I was fortunate enough to fall in with the ships the following day after the gale ceased, yet bad weather and constant chasing prevented any boats from boarding me till that time, which, on the coast of America at this season of the year, was not the most pleasing situation in the world.

The 9th, at daybreak in the morning, Cape May bearing NNW, fifteen leagues, we took a schooner from St. Eustatius, with rum and gin; and the 14th spoke his Majesty's ship Mermaid, with a convoy from England for New York, on which day we took two sloops from Philadelphia, bound to the West Indies with flour. The 18th, we took a schooner from Martinique with claret, and on the 26th, for the first time, the boat came on board me with directions to take charge of the five prizes, and

proceed with them to New York; and having got on board my chest and bedding, I parted company with the ships on this day, having during my time in the Colonel Parry prize, had my shirt and stockings washed while I lay in bed naked till they were dry. I arrived all safe at New York on the 28th instant, and secured the prizes alongside the wharf amidst twenty-nine others belonging to the Orpheus.

Here commences the most agreeable time I have experienced during my servitude as a midshipman, as I was in possession of almost every luxury of life, without one anxious care, one unhappy moment to embitter it. I had a most elegant cabin with a comfortable stove, and the additional happiness of seven messmates who was in some of the other prizes, where, solely clear of all the little snubs we are so accustomed to in the navy, we smiled at fortune and defied its frowns.

The 29th, the Orpheus sent in a sloop with cordage and canvas; December 2nd, one with sugar and rum; the 5th, another with flour; the 10th, a schooner with pepper and sugar; the 12th, a brig with tobacco; and on the 14th, arrived with two sloops with bread and flour. Several of my messmates were immediately ordered on board, while from great good fortune I remained with the charge of the prizes; and as some of our orlopian manœuvres were not a little various, I shall mention a few of them.

Among the innumerable good things I was in possession of, there was on board one of the prizes three cases of the best Bordeaux claret, which Captain Hudson had directed to be sent to him and Captain Chinnery of the Daphne. We were keeping as usual Christmas Day, and were desirous to drink good wine; we therefore drank the three cases out,

and the following day filled them with claret of a very inferior sort out of the casks, corking them with the same long corks, and sealing them all over with a deal of attention and care; which answered every purpose, as the captains, on drinking the wine, observed, 'It might be very good claret, but for their parts they found very little difference in that and the cask claret.' The second business we performed was taking the limes out of sixteen casks, and after heaving water and rotten limes among the stuff they were packed in, reported them all unfit for use to the captains, who, lamenting the loss, observed, 'It was generally the case with fruit that had remained any time in the ship.'

Thus we passed our jovial days, till in an evil hour our summons came to join the ship, and I do not remember a greater change than to be transported in a second from those luxurious scenes to a cold, distressed midshipman's habitation, and to be subject to the variety of causes that make them lead an unpleasing life. The 18th of January I took possession of my long deserted berth, and it was some days before I could in any way reconcile myself to the uncomfortable change. However, I at last rubbed on as usual, flattering myself the fickle goddess Fortune would soon again favour me with her smiles.

The ice setting in as usual, obliged us to move close to the Fish Market, to avoid the islands that were hourly floating down with the ebb tide; and on the 20th we sailed hence in company with his Majesty's ships Solebay and Daphne and Harriet packet, and parted from them off Sandy Hook. At twelve at night we had a most tremendous gale of wind at SE, which continued with great violence till four o'clock, when, very fortunately for us, the wind shifted to the NW, as we had drifted into

eight fathom water and was making preparations to cut away the masts and anchor.

The 23rd we arrived at Rhode Island, and having caught a severe fever from a number of rebel prisoners we brought round from New York with us, we became so very sickly that on the 27th we sent ninety men to the hospital, keeping nearly that number on board sick.[1] The 28th the commodore sent us a hundred men from other ships, and orders to put to sea directly and cruise a month off Buzzard's Bay; but the extreme severity of the weather, together with an additional number of sick, obliged us to return to the harbour on March 3, during which time we never saw our station though but ten leagues from the port we sailed from.

The 5th of this month we were sent as an advanced ship up Providence River, where we continued, having little skirmishes with the enemy, till the 10th, when we sailed down the river and proceeded to sea with all possible expedition that night. The 11th we took a sloop from Charlestown bound to Boston with rice and indigo, and that night came to an anchor under Block Island; the following morning we sailed and on the 16th anchored in Martha's Vineyard, and on the 18th returned to Rhode Island. The 20th we again was ordered

[1] The dates are inaccurate, but the statement that they sent ninety men to hospital appears to be still more so. According to the ship's log, they anchored in Newport Harbour in the forenoon of January 26; on the 28th discharged the fifty rebel prisoners; 31st, John Prowton, seaman, died; February 1st, buried Prowton on shore, sent *one* man to the hospital, cleaned and fumigated below; 2nd, sent a boy to the hospital; 3rd, sent *two* men to the hospital. The ship was evidently in a very sickly state; but the difference between three men and a boy, and ninety men is excessive and inexplicable. They sailed from Newport on February 13, and returned on March 5; but did not go up the river till the 17th.

to sea and on the 25th took a sloop of sixty tons with flour from Philadelphia for Boston.

March 30 we arrived at Rhode Island, and April 2 relieved the Cerberus frigate at the advanced post in Providence between Prudence and the main. Our situation while here was extremely disagreeable, as during the ten weeks we occupied this post of honour we were frequently attacked by the enemy's fire ships, and some of their frigates had attempted in vain to pass us; three flat boats were always rowing in the night ahead of the ship to prevent a surprise, and the strictest attention used on all occasions. Whenever the duty of the ship allowed us, we employed ourselves in making gardens on the island of Hope, and in the course of our stay here completed several very good ones, all of which we disposed of to our respective brother officers. The 20th I was sent with Lieutenant Douglas of the Chatham, on the enemy's shore at midnight to bring off two men, that had been sent there as spies a few days before. We advanced within a few yards of the beach, when, the coast being alarmed, the rebels began a heavy fire at us, and had nearly cut off our retreat, but through great good fortune we escaped with a few shot only striking the boat; but the poor unhappy fellows that we went in quest of were taken and hung up immediately.

May 30, the Greyhound frigate relieved us, and on June 1 we ran down the river and anchored off Newport, and on the 3rd sailed on a cruise towards Fundy Bay, in company with the Amazon and Juno frigates, having previous thereto agreed to share prize money.

The 6th we took a sloop from Philadelphia bound to Boston with rice; the 9th we retook a brig from Oporto bound to London, which had been

taken by a privateer off Scilly, and which, having sent to New York, we never heard any more of. The 11th we took a vessel loaded with lumber, which we burnt; and the 14th, a sloop with wood, which we gave up to the owners. The 16th we took a brig with fish and lumber from Boston to the West Indies, and on the 23rd chased a rebel privateer of twenty guns for eighteen hours, when a severe squall and a dark night obliged us to quit her. As our chief business in cruising on this station was to intercept the rebel Commodore Manly —who fell into the hands of Sir George Collier—it became absolutely necessary to avoid a separation, as he had a force infinitely superior to us; which was the cause of our losing a vast number of valuable prizes.

The 28th we took two vessels with wood, which we also gave up as before, and on the 4th of July saw a vessel in a calm about four miles from us. The signal was made for all boats manned and armed, and putting myself under command of Lieutenant Moss of the Juno, who had also the Amazon's barge, we put off and rowed towards the brig, which mounted ten carriage guns and twelve swivels. She commenced a fire on us as soon as we were within reach, when we gave way, boarded and took her, with the loss only of the side of a man's face. She was loaded with rum and sugar, bound to Boston. On the 5th we ran a brig on shore worth twenty thousand pounds, which we had once been in possession of, but the fire being very heavy from the shore, we was obliged to quit her, though the vessel with an inconsiderable part of her cargo fell into our hands some few days after. About 5 o'clock in the evening we were directed to go in and cannonade her till she was destroyed, but a gale of wind obliged us to run to sea.

Nothing very essential offered for some days except an innumerable number of unsuccessful chases, and catching a vast quantity of fish, of which we had such an abundance that it was the business of the mate of the dog-watch to see all fish hove overboard, that the people might not keep them too long. The 14th, as sailing along the shore of Cape Cod, we discovered a brig, a schooner, and a sloop at anchor in the harbour. We immediately made sail in and pursued them across the bay and ran them on shore near Truro. The boats were all manned and armed and sent to the attack of the brig, which was got off in a few minutes without the loss of a man; and as it was expected their chief attention would be towards the brig, I was sent in a cutter to set fire to the sloop, which I must confess I thought at the time an easy undertaking.

I advanced within musket shot and was fired on by three men who daringly remained in the vessel, which however I soon dispersed with a swivel shot and a volley of musketry from the boat, and had approached so near to her that we were about to board her, when, to my great astonishment, a vast number of men arose from behind a sand hill and saluted me with three cheers, a volley of musketry and two pieces of cannon. The sudden surprise of this unexpected attack, which wounded two of my people and threw us all into confusion, together with the little probability there was of escaping, made me determine on a surrender, as I thought it would be madness to lose my people's lives in a fruitless attempt to escape, which appeared to me totally impossible. I therefore called for quarter and offered to come on shore; but the firing still continuing and two more of my men being wounded, I was under the necessity of seeking that safety in flight which the enemy ungenerously refused me by an offer to

surrender; and having at the distance of a few yards stood their fire for some time, I got the foresail hoisted and with the wind in my favour ran off shore, having six men dangerously wounded out of seven and the boat almost knocked to pieces.

The Amazon was immediately hauled nearer the shore to cover the boats, and the gunner of the ship offered himself a volunteer to burn her.[1] With these advantages he rowed towards her, and the Amazon began to cannonade the battery on his putting off, but the fire of the enemy was so very warm, that he returned without any loss or performing the service he was sent on. It was then discovered that the sloop and schooner had taken in the most valuable parts of the brig's cargo, and that she had only remaining in her ninety tons of salt. Nor were all our efforts to come at these vessels any way successful, and we quitted them this evening.

The 15th, we weighed and made sail, and in a few hours anchored off the town in Cape Cod harbour, and sent on shore a flag of truce to inform the inhabitants that we were in want of water and refreshments, and that we were determined at all events to supply ourselves from them, for which we would pay them any reasonable demands, but that if they in any way molested us we should cannonade the town till it was level with the ground. They in consequence thereof consented to a cessation of arms during our stay, and we landed 100 marines and 200 seamen, with a sufficient number of men to complete the watering, the others serving as a guard during the time we were employed on this service. About midnight the advanced sentinels on the different hummocks made the signal for the approach of a body of the enemy, and retreated

[1] *Sc.* the sloop.

accordingly. Having drawn up our people ready to receive them, we found on their advancing towards us that we were infinitely inferior to them, and in consequence thereof thought it necessary to retreat, as the ships would be very much distressed should we be defeated. The people were immediately embarked amidst the enemy's fire without any loss, and at daylight in the morning we were going to destroy the town, but the inhabitants came off with positive assurances that this breach of the truce had been committed by some people from the other side of the bay, in revenge for the loss of their vessels, and that they had persuaded them to return. We therefore completed our water, and that evening sailed again on our cruise.

The 21st we took a schooner from Bilbao to Boston with cordage and canvas, and the 22nd retook a brig from Quebec to London in ballast; on which day the Amazon parted company and sailed with the prizes for New York. The 24th we took a schooner from Boston to the West Indies with fish and lumber; the 25th, a brig from Martinique to Boston with rum and molasses; the 26th, a schooner from Boston to the West Indies with lumber, and chased a large ship close into Boston lighthouse. The 31st, the Amazon joined us and gave us an account that she had on her passage retaken a large ship from Jamaica to London with rum and sugar, and had sent her to Halifax.

On August 1 we chased a schooner from sunrise to its setting, when she struck; but night coming on and the signal being made for all cruisers, we quitted the prize without boarding her, which was done, I believe, merely to disappoint the commodore for making such a signal at that time.

August 2, we gave chase to a rebel privateer, which we followed for sixteen hours, when we ran

her on shore near Cape Cod, and having fired three broadsides into her, boarded her with the boats and set her on fire. We found three men dead in the cabin, and learned that a number had been drowned in quitting the ship; at eleven o'clock she blew up, producing a scene of awful delight, which the night greatly contributed to. In the morning we sent on shore a flag of truce, with a request to be informed [of] the name of the vessel, when we found she was the Wilkes privateer, of twenty 6-pounders, commanded by a John Williams, and bound into the English Channel on a six months' cruise, and that she had been only off the stocks five weeks. This was our finishing stroke in the Bay of Fundy, during which time it appeared by the log-book that we had seen ninety rebel vessels, of which we had taken and destroyed thirty-three sail.

The 8th we arrived at Rhode Island, and the 11th relieved the Lark, Diamond and Greyhound, at the advanced posts in Providence River. The 20th the Juno made the signal for all boats manned and armed, which signal was mistaken by us for a ship coming down the river, and it was some time before the error was discovered, when I was sent in the barge on board the Juno to acquaint Captain Dalrymple[1] that our other boats, with the marines, was coming as fast as possible. By him I was informed that the rebels had landed three or four hundred men on Providence Island and attacked the people who was on shore watering, and that I was to take with me Lieutenant Moss to command the people, and follow such orders as I received from him. We accordingly landed and drew up the men in front of the enemy, forming a body of a hundred seamen and forty marines. Having retaken the Juno's long-

[1] Hugh Dalrymple, captain in 1763; died in 1780.

boat on our first going on shore, the enemy retreated in good order till they reached an orchard at the end of the island, in which, on our coming up, we unexpectedly found them drawn up three deep, with a resolution to attack us, and which must have proved fatal to the whole had not Mr. Moss suddenly attacked them with loud huzzas and a show of seeing a reinforcement coming. This broke their ranks and made them give way, though they retreated in very good order, having killed us four marines and taken a midshipman and fifteen men prisoners.

The 30th I was sent on shore with thirty men to haul the seine, on which occasion I had a dispute in coming off with Lieutenant Coutts, of the marines, who was a passenger; and, finding himself unable to clear up the business to Captain Hudson, who he thought took a part with me, wrote for a court-martial, which obliged me to do the same.

September 12, a court-martial was held on two marines belonging to the Chatham for mutiny, which was sentenced to receive three hundred lashes from ship to ship. The 13th the master and boatswain of the Amazon was also tried for neglect of duty and acquitted; and the 14th[1] came the great important day, big with the fate of midshipmen and lieutenants of marines, each of whom had assembled to know their consequence in the Service. The court, having maturely weighed the whole circumstance on both sides and finding the charges fully

[1] It seems strange that this date should be incorrect, but it is. The court-martial on James and David Coutts, lieutenant of marines, was on the 12th, Maximilian Jacobs, captain of the Amazon, president. Of the other courts-martial mentioned, that on the boatswain was on the 11th; that on the master, on the 13th; that on the marines, on the 12th, when they were sentenced 'to receive severally *one* hundred lashes on their backs with a cat of nine tails.'—*Minutes of Courts-Martial*, vol. 49.

proved, we were both sentenced to be reprimanded by the president, who, from the different language he held in his performing the sentence of the court, plainly discovered he did not conceive me to be in the wrong, as he rather gave me advice than a reprimand; and it was more fully proved in my leaving the Orpheus on that day in consequence of a recommendation from Captain Hudson to Rear-Admiral Sir Peter Parker,[1] who was going to take the chief command on the Jamaica Station; and I quitted the Orpheus on this evening and joined the Chatham, having been in the former as rated mate two years, and having experienced from Captain Hudson the friendship and attention of the best of all good men, and to whom I am indebted for my promotion in the navy.

On my first coming on board the Chatham, I was sent to Newport to clear a transport of stores, which took several days, and was attended with some expense as I was obliged to find myself at a tavern. October 10, the admiral gave me the command of the Pigot tender, the former officer who commanded being at this time unwell, and I proceeded to sea in company with the Lady Parker, another of our tenders, and having run into Long Island Sound and delivered some orders to his Majesty's ship Syren, made the best of our way off Gay Head, where we was to cruise a week and return to Rhode Island.

[1] A captain of 1747. On June 28, 1776, with a broad pennant in the Bristol, he commanded a squadron in an unsuccessful attack on Sullivan's Island, at the entrance of Charlestown Harbour. He became a rear-admiral in April 1777, and in June was appointed commander-in-chief at Jamaica, where he remained till August 1782. On his return to England he was made a baronet; became an admiral in 1787; was commander-in-chief at Portsmouth from 1793 to 1799, when he was promoted to be admiral of the fleet. He died in 1811. He is perhaps now best remembered as the early patron of Nelson, whom—whilst at Jamaica—he successively promoted to be commander and captain.

The 14th, in the morning, I chased and took a rebel schooner from Philadelphia to Boston with flour, and taking the prize in tow arrived with her at Rhode Island the 16th, where I gave up the command of her[1] to the officer who was in her before, and joined my ship who had dropped down the river to Newport. The following day some dispute arising about the tender, and no person being willing to go to sea in her as the winter was coming on, I offered myself a volunteer to take command of her, and proceeded to Goat Island to fit her for sea; which having done, one of the acting lieutenants was ordered on board her, and I was sent on board the Lady Parker to heave her down, and refit her also for sea. On the following day I brought her out of the harbour, and was directed to proceed to sea in her in company with his Majesty's ships Flora, Lark and Pigot tender, and go to the assistance of the Syren frigate, who, with a transport, had run on shore on Point Judith, and whose people were made prisoners by the rebels.

At ten o'clock in the night the two frigates anchored about two miles off the shore, and the rebels commenced a fire on us from three eighteen-pounders. Four boats were then manned and equipped with combustibles, under the first lieutenant of the Chatham, who was sent to command them; the first lieutenant of the Flora commanded the second boat, the second lieutenant of the Lark the third, and myself the fourth. We left the ships at eleven o'clock and rowed towards the Syren, amidst a heavy fire from the enemy of cannon and musketry, and found a heavy sea running alongside of her, that her masts were made a stage to walk from the ship on shore, and that they had got out a quantity

[1] *Sc.* the Pigot.

of her stores and provisions. In this situation we boarded her, and each of the officers, as directed by the admiral, carried his basket of combustibles into the ship and fired her in different places; though our retreat was necessarily so precipitate, that we were obliged to get into the first boat we could find and put off with all speed, as the fire had communicated to her guns, which were then going off both sides; and we completely destroyed her without any accident, but that of the first lieutenant of the Flora, whose face and hands were much burnt by the explosion of the combustibles.

At midnight we made sail towards the harbour, and at ten o'clock I discovered a sail standing across me, to which I immediately gave chase and took. I boarded her in a small jolly boat and found her to be a rebel schooner from Bedford for Connecticut with fish and oil. She had sixteen men on board, the wind was blowing very hard, and a danger of my being unable to return, as I had only two men with me. I was therefore obliged to turn the whole sixteen men into the boat, much against my wishes, and expose them to the danger of a dark night and blowing weather, rather than run the risk of their taking the vessel from me. Among the number of the prisoners was a quaker preacher, who entreated to be left on board; but as he was a stout fellow and might turn out that kind of a preacher which would deprive me of my prize, I bundled him into the boat. The boat having reached the Lady Parker safe, and returned again with a quartermaster and two men, I gave up the charge of the prize to the former and quitted her. At four o'clock in the morning we took a whale boat from Connecticut to Bedford with four hogsheads of salt, which we towed under water and lost, the wind blowing a hard gale. The following day, being unable to

reach Rhode Island, I bore away for the Seaconnet Passage, where I found lying his Majesty's ship Kingfisher. The gale having increased to a heavy one at noon on this day, the prize parted both cables and was nearly lost on the rebel shore, but fortunately reached Fogland Ferry, where she was secured alongside the wharf.

November 27th I sailed from hence with the prize for Newport, and as soon as I was clear of the land chased a whale boat three hours, which I took, and found her from Connecticut for Boston, with six casks of flour, one of corned beef, a cask of tallow, a firkin of fresh butter, and nineteen cheeses. As it blew very hard I was obliged to destroy the boat, and return again to the Seaconnet Passage. The 28th again put to sea, the wind still blowing prodigious hard; at ten o'clock a severe gust of wind lay the brig on her beam ends, which obliged me to cut away topsail halliards, sheets, main and fore ties and peak halliards, as she was nearly water-logged and would not right. We once more returned to the Seaconnet Passage, and on the 29th with much difficulty arrived at Newport.

December 3rd we again sailed on a cruise, and on the 7th met with a tremendous gale of wind at SE, during which I lay to under a close-reefed mainsail, and shipping some heavy seas which washed the caboose and everything off the decks, were obliged to keep both pumps working all the gale, which shifted in the morning from SE to NW, and blew with great violence till January[1] 10, during which time we had no means of cooking, and was obliged to serve the ship's company with raw meat, which seamen often eat when not distressed. The 12th we arrived at Rhode Island, when from the

[1] So in MS.; evidently a mistake for December.

account of our situation in the gales, the admiral directed the Lady Parker to be laid up for the season.

The 20th the Bristol, Raisonnable, Nonsuch, Somerset and a fleet of transports, arrived from the Delaware River; and the 27th Sir Peter Parker shifted his flag on board the Bristol, taking with him the officers and a hundred seamen.

January 4th the Lord Viscount Howe arrived at Rhode Island, and the 15th we sailed hence for the West Indies. We arrived at Antigua without meeting anything worthy observation on February 5, where we found his Majesty's ship Aurora with Vice-Admiral Young's[1] flag on board. The 6th we sailed hence, and taking with us two transports, arrived at Jamaica the 15th, where Sir Peter Parker superseded Vice-Admiral Gayton[2] as commander-in-chief. The 18th we went alongside the wharf and hove down, which took us till the 20th of March, when we hauled off into the harbour. The 12th of April Sir Peter Parker appointed two lieutenants to the Ostrich and Active, they having sailed from England and left their lieutenants behind, when Mr. D'Arcy and O'Bryen[3] was made. The same day I was appointed acting lieutenant of the Chameleon in the room of Lieutenant David Mackay, who with several others had been blown up[4] and were gone to the hospital; among whom was the master, surgeon, a

[1] James Young, a captain of 1743, commanded the Intrepid in the action off Cape Mola on May 20, 1756, and the Mars in the battle of Quiberon Bay. He died, admiral of the white, in 1789. In 1837 his granddaughter married James' grandson.

[2] Clark Gayton, a captain of 1745, commanded the St. George at the reduction of Guadeloupe in 1759. He died, admiral of the blue, in 1787.

[3] Edward O'Bryen, captain in 1783; captain of the Monarch, with Vice-Admiral Onslow, in the battle of Camperdown. Died, a rear-admiral, in 1808.

[4] By the accidental explosion of the arm chest on April 7.

mate, three midshipmen, lieutenant of marines, captain's clerk and surgeon's mate.

The duty in this ship was very disagreeable and severe, as I was pestered with a drunken boatswain, gunner and carpenter, which will be found very uncomfortable for a young man who had nothing to recommend himself but his attention to his duty; and as there was no other officers in the ship to partake of the duty, it still became more uncomfortable. The 20th I ran the ship to Rock Fort, to water, which having completed, returned to Greenwich, and on the 25th returned to Port Royal, on which day the admiral's flag was shifted from the Bristol to the Chameleon, which[1] was promoted from rear of the blue to rear of the red. The 26th the Bristol sailed on a cruise in company with the Niger, and accompanied the Winchelsea and a fleet of transports through the Gulf of Florida.

Having been obliged to confine the gunner for disobedience and neglect of duty, he was on the 8th of June tried by a court-martial and broke, and rendered incapable of ever again serving his Majesty. The conduct of the boatswain and carpenter deserved almost the same punishment, and the scrapes and distressed situations they generally got me in from their neglect of duty are beyond number or description; however, I went through these disagreeable services with the more pleasure having every attention paid me by Captain Douglas,[2] who was most strictly the officer and gentleman, and to whom I am indebted for a number of favourable remarks he made to the admiral during the time I had the honour to act as lieutenant of the Chameleon.

[1] *Sc.* the admiral's flag.

[2] James Douglas, captain in 1780; commanded the Saturn in Hotham's action of July 13, 1795; rear-admiral in 1799; died, admiral of the red, in 1839.

June 10th I was ordered to go out in the Camel as acting lieutenant, the other being sick and incapable of doing his duty, Captain Bligh[1] having done me the favour to ask the admiral for me, and we quitted the harbour on the morning of the 10th. The 11th we anchored in Bluefields Bay, where we remained till the 25th, when we sailed hence with his Majesty's ships Hind, Southampton and Stork, and one hundred sail of merchant ships, and proceeded to the Gulf of Florida, where our ship became very sickly; in so much that we buried in six days about twenty seamen and seven marines,[2] together with Lieutenant Thomas Philip Smith of the marines, and Mr. John Eglestone, master's mate. The 28th of this month the master, purser and surgeon was taken ill, and a few days after myself, gunner, surgeon's mate, and sixty more men were ill in severe fevers, during which time we had not men enough to work the ship, and Captain Bligh and one of the mates was at watch and watch. The weather, which was constantly squally with thunder, lightning and heavy rain, kept us in the Gulf till the 20th of July, and on the 26th, in Lat. 32° 30′ N and Long. 74° 19′ W, we parted company with the fleet, which was bound to England, and we made sail back to Jamaica.

August 19th we made [the] island of Hispaniola, and the 21st off Cape Français spoke his Majesty's frigate Minerva on a cruise, and the 28th arrived at

[1] Richard Rodney Bligh, captain of December 6, 1777; commanded the Alexander when, on November 6, 1794, she was captured by three French ships of the line and a frigate. (See James' *Naval History*, vol. i. p. 203.) He died, an admiral and G.C.B., in 1821.

[2] These numbers are virtually contradicted by both log and pay-book. The ship was sickly and was fumigated; but besides Smith and Eglestone, only five seamen and one marine seem to have died at this time.

Jamaica, where we learned that it was a war with France, and that the Minerva had been taken[1] by the Concorde, French frigate, nine hours after we spoke her, after which we had fell in with several sail of St. Domingo ships, and from not knowing it was a war, had suffered them to proceed; and this was the more unfortunate as we had been out three months without any success whatever. Having mentioned the civility of some of the captains I have served with, it would be ingratitude not to mention Captain Bligh's, with whom I messed while in the Camel.

On the night of our arrival at Port Royal, the admiral sent for me up to his pen, and informed me that he meant to send me to sea in quest of the cruising ships, to acquaint them with its being a French war, and to direct them to return into port; and that I was to take the command of the Dolphin tender, ballast, rig, and victual her for sea, and taking with me two men and a boy, proceed as fast as possible on that service. I quitted the admiral's house at three o'clock in the morning, and having taken possession of the schooner, which I found in a most distressful situation, I so far complied with Sir Peter Parker's orders as to sail from Port Royal at three o'clock that afternoon. Captain Lambert of his Majesty's ship Niger, on my leaving the harbour, informed me that he should sail in the morning with the Bristol and Lowestoft, taking with him also his tender, and proceed on a cruise off St. Domingo, where he made no doubt I should fall in with him; and that I could make no mistake; for if I should see three large ships, one having a poop, and a

[1] The capture of the Minerva was the first intimation of the war with France which reached Sir Peter Parker. She was recaptured on January 4, 1781, off Brest, by Lord Mulgrave in the Courageux.

schooner with them, it must of course be his squadron.

Few, if any, vessels ever went on a business of this nature half so bad fitted out as the Dolphin, as she had grass on her bottom a foot long, no other sails than a mainsail, foresail and jib, and manned in a most miserable manner with two men and a boy from the Æolus. So situated, and without making any difficulties, as the service would not admit of it just then, I sailed from Port Royal, and on September 3 weathered the east end of the island Jamaica, off which I cruised a few hours for the Druid; but not falling in with her, and at this time having a favourable wind to go through the windward passage, I made all the sail I could set and proceeded towards the island of Inagua. On the 6th in the evening, I made Cape Tiburon on the west end of the island St. Domingo; about eight o'clock the same evening I passed the Navassa, and carried a fine gale till I brought Donna Maria,[1] on the following morning, to bear East, two or three leagues, at which period came on a violent hurricane, which obliged me to drift under my poles till night, when I was enabled to set a reefed foresail. This was the severe storm which dismasted the Bristol and Lowestoft, and in which the Niger's tender and several others were totally lost.

At eight o'clock this evening I discovered a vessel to leeward of me, with her masts and bowsprit only above water, and though it was running on a lee shore, humanity made it necessary for me to bear up for her, and examine if any of her crew was on or about the rigging. On my approaching near to her, I found her to be a sloop of about seventy tons, rigging and hull complete; and as she

[1] Cape Dame Marie.

had her sails set, must have been lost in the gale of that morning. Her unfortunate crew having all lost their lives, and having no further business with her, I made sail to the northward, and at ten o'clock had a fresh gale which obliged me to bring to under a reefed foresail. I passed Cape Nicholas Mole on the 8th, and on the 9th made the island of Inagua bearing NNE four leagues, and at eight o'clock in the evening tacked and stood off shore with a fine breeze at NNE, with a view of sailing in the morning between Inagua and the Little Caicos, with hopes of speaking his Majesty's frigate Æolus, which was stationed in that passage.

At five in the morning on the 10th—Oh! fatal day!—the wind shifting round to the eastward, I tacked and stood to the northward through the Caicos. At daybreak I discovered three large ships, one of them having a poop, and with them a schooner, which immediately struck me was the Bristol, Lowestoft and Niger, with her tender, which I before observed was to follow me on the next day, but was dismasted in the before-mentioned hurricane. With corroborating circumstances like these, no doubt remained with me of their being the British squadron; and as my speaking all cruisers was the business I was sent on, and would greatly facilitate my return to Jamaica, duty, as well as a strong inclination, obliged me to tack and stand towards them.

On my coming within a few miles of them, I discovered the headmost ship to be clearly an English frigate, but was not satisfied with the appearance of the other two. I hoisted my colours and stood from them, when the nearest to me fired a shot, hoisted French colours, and made the signal for a general chase; on which I made all the sail I could set and kept her right before it, as small vessels

in general have an advantage over square-rigged ships in that point of sailing; and I was also induced to pursue this mode of running, as I should otherwise draw these ships on the Æolus's station, to which they were so much superior, and thereby endanger her being also taken, from her ignorance of the war with France.

In a chase of two hours and [a] half the headmost ship brought me to, and hailed me to strike immediately, which of course I was under the disagreeable necessity of doing. I was boarded by the second captain of the Charmante, having previous thereto carefully sunk and destroyed Sir Peter Parker's orders, and thirty-four letters from the merchants of Jamaica to their privateers cruising off this island, and was soon made acquainted with the most unfortunate period of my existence. This squadron was the Dédaigneuse of 32 guns, Charmante of 32, and Active of 28, with a Providence privateer (the two latter of which they had taken three days before). The 11th we were carried into Cape Français, where we found the Concorde, French frigate, and the late Minerva, which I before observed was taken by her, together with several sail of French St. Domingo ships.

Here I must pause a moment to view this unfortunate stroke, and reflect on my fatal and very unhappy situation. At a period when I had reason to flatter myself I was almost within reach of a commission, and elated with the idea of dropping, on my return, the scornful name of petty,[1] and reaching that goal, which for the course of ten years I had been in quest of, when almost allowed to consider myself inevitably beyond the reach of the midnight calls of quarter-masters, and exempt from 'the

[1] *Sc.* the first half of 'petty-officer.'

horrid souls which patient mids from their superiors take to be of a sudden snatched from such glorious and desirable acquisitions, and presented with the doleful appellation of prisoner, without the most distant view of enlargement, and destitute of money and clothes, sure it's beyond the power of pen to describe, or any but the unfortunate to conceive.

On the 14th the late officers of the Active and myself were conducted on shore to give our paroles of honour: which having done, we returned again to the Charmante, without even the benefit of a walk, and which parole confined us to the limits of a mile, which his Excellency the Governor D'Argout[1] out of his profound fund of goodness, thought sufficiently extensive.

We remained on board the Charmante till the 20th, when we were sent on shore to set off for the country: but before I take leave altogether of the above ship, I must in justice to Captain Macnemara[2] observe that his conduct and treatment towards the officers and men who were his prisoners, were such as reflects the highest honour and humanity on him, and it was with the utmost concern he heard of the loss of my clothes by the people of the Dédaigneuse, who in vain he endeavoured to procure them from. At three o'clock in the afternoon we were mounted on mules, to the number of eight. Having first dined at a Dutch hotel in Cape Français, and drank sufficiently to drive away care and put us in extraordinary spirits, we set off for Ou Trou, a small village about thirty miles from the Cape, guarded by two black fellows with pistols and hangers: and

[1] M. le comte d'Argout, maréchal des camps et armées du roi, gouverneur, lieutenant-général et inspecteur des troupes, milices, fortifications et artillerie des Isles sous le vent de l'Amérique.

[2] Captain of the Charmante.

being, as I observed before, in a disposition for mirth and humour, we agreed to outwit the French negro guard, and soon after, coming to a road which crossed four different ways, two of us set off a gallop [down] each of the turnings, and was consequently soon separated from each other, while the guard stood astonished at our proceeding, and undetermined which of us to pursue. Lieutenant Lawford and myself having taken one road, we stopped after riding a few miles at a gentleman's house to *rafraichir*, who treated us with a deal of politeness, and gave us some wine and water; in the midst of which, one of the black fellows came up puffing and sputtering about our behaviour, which caused our new friend to become very shy, and, in fact, to give us again in custody to the guard, who swore he would never again take charge of a set of English sea officers, if he was fortunate enough to arrive with us at Ou Trou.

On our riding along the road we discovered a most ludicrous sight, which added greatly to our friend the black's embarrassment. The powerful rays of the sun added to hard riding and the juice of the grape had operated so strongly on the fertile and jocose disposition of one of our companions, that he was thrown from his mule and stretched along the dusty road, gently reclining his head on the breast of a negro, whose sweet effluvia was incapable of drawing him to a sense of his situation, while his faithful 'Rosinante' bemoaned the condition of his master, who was securely wrapped in the arms of Somnus and Bacchus, those gods having possession of his faculties, and his friend, the negro, of his money. We had him carried to an adjacent house, where he continued till the following day, and again pursued his journey.

After we had rode about fifty miles, and per-

formed such exploits as I believe was very unusual in St. Domingo, we arrived in different parties at Ou Trou about twelve o'clock at night, our beasts being as much fatigued as their riders, and joined the late officers of the Minerva, who were also prisoners at this place. Having rested ourselves for the night on the ground, we got up very early in the morning; [and,] big with the pleasing idea of viewing a comfortable village, and having breakfast off a little milk and bread, and undergoing the operation of the *perruquier*—which the meanest mercantile in France does, before he sports his tattered *habillement* to the public—we sallied forth amidst the shout of boys, and the prying curiosity of people who never before saw an English prisoner. But what was our surprise when we discovered only a few miserable huts, inhabited only by a set of negroes; it's true there was three shops occupied by seeming white men, but age and long frequenting this climate had given them a strong shade, which is most probable nature had also assisted in. Here was another disappointment, to fall so suddenly in our expectations of living comfortably, and to be reduced to the necessity of dwelling among this race of copper-coloured gentlemen, for a time totally unknown.

Having sufficiently satisfied our curiosity relative [to] the place and its inhabitants, we began to form plans for our living, and took a house, which any but prisoners would be alarmed at living in, as the walls only were standing, and which they obliged us to pay nineteen dollars a month for. There being only three rooms in the house and our number at this time amounting to about twenty, we were obliged to occupy the stables and other outhouses, and drew lots for our choice, when Lieutenant Manly of the Minerva and myself were unfortunate enough to

share the stable with an old horse, who had never before I believe been accustomed to such company, and who having remained with us three months was removed to better quarters, leaving us in sole possession of the premises, from which our good fortune never relieved us till we quitted the island altogether.

On mature deliberation we found it would be impossible to provide ourselves with breakfast, dinner, supper, barber and washing for three shillings per day, which was allowed us for our subsistence; the surgeons, pursers, and masters, had only two shillings a day, and the midshipmen who lived in a separate house, if possible less elegant, only one shilling; for it's to be observed that from producing my acting order as lieutenant of the Camel, they considered me as one of the lieutenants, and during my stay paid me as such. It was therefore determined on that we should each put in his pay, and be furnished for it only breakfast, dinner and washing, to enable those who had but little pay to live as well as the rest; and two of the lieutenants undertook to contract with a Frenchman for that purpose; but at the end of the month, from a mistake of the two caterers, [he] brought us in a bill of a hundred dollars more than our pay, which we was obliged to pay by different payments out of our allowance. This kept us so far back that we scarcely ever recovered it, and obliged us to break up our mess, leaving every individual to shift for himself.

Such was our situation when we had been only a month prisoners; and when Captain Williams of the late Active died, who was sewn up in a piece of canvas and carried by two negroes at daybreak in the morning, to some remote ditch, where, having dug a hole, they threw him, without any kind of ceremony, or even allowing his own son, who was a

prisoner with us, to see his deceased father interred; but from an immoderate and mistaken zeal for religion, buried him among unchristened savages and common assassins—a proceeding as contrary to religion as to nature itself. Such was the fate of one of the commanders of his Britannic Majesty's ships, at a time when the Law of Nations entitled him, as a prisoner of war, to every attention due to the rank he held. But it is evident that the inhabitants of this inhospitable island, from their method and ostentatious show of religion, which is governed by actions so foreign to God and man, leaves no doubt of the island being destitute of laws human or Divine, and unexampled, I dare hope to believe, in any other of his most Christian Majesty's dominions.[1]

About this time we were under the necessity of forming some gardens, to enable us the better to exist; for at times we scarcely did that: and having plenty of ground about the house, we soon furnished ourselves with a few vegetables, which greatly assisted us when we could purchase no meat. However, this I found would by no means keep us alive, for half our pay was at this time stopped to pay the scoundrel his hundred dollars, and the remainder paid us only every six weeks; I therefore bought a couple of hens, which gave me nine or ten eggs a week. This I afterwards increased to eleven fowls, which enabled me to sell eggs, and eat when distressed, and which lived in a very domestic and familiar way with me in my stable; but being at length obliged, while sick, to kill some of my family, and the French negroes stealing the rest while straying abroad for food, I became one of the most distressed, poor, castaway, forlorn wretches that can be conceived.

[1] The meaning is clear enough, but the grammar is hopelessly obscure.

November 5th Captain Philips, of the 60th Regiment, and Mr. Rankin, a passenger in the Minerva, was released, and directed to go to Jamaica in the flag of truce; and we saw them depart, with little hopes of soon following them. We seldom was made acquainted with any but the most distressing news, which we could by no means contradict; and these were such as their having invaded England with success, defeated Mr. Keppel in the Channel, Mr. Byron on his passage to America, blocked up Lord Howe at New York, and taken Guernsey and Jersey by surprise. The 20th Captain Stott's[1] steward died, and was buried in the savannah near this village; and the 22nd, by great good fortune, I received a box of linen from Jamaica, which a female acquaintance had humanity enough to send me, in the pockets of some of which I found some letters sewn up, two of which was from Falmouth; and in one of those I had from a friend at Jamaica, I was informed that the admiral had kept a vacancy of lieutenant in the Ostrich for me some time, but hearing I was taken, had filled it up.

As I could better put up with the want of clothes in this warm climate than feel the distress of hunger, I lost no time in disposing of my box of linen, which enabled me to pay my little debts at the hucksters' shops, and feast for two or three weeks. To complete the vast esteem they had for us, they reported to the commandant that we had determined on setting fire to the village the first opportunity, and, taking the advantage of their confusion, make off to the seaside, and seize on some small vessel. This occasioned severer treatment, and [was] done on purpose to excuse their vile conduct towards us; for it cannot be even supposed

[1] Of the Minerva.

that an English officer, on his parole of honour, would so much deviate from the established great character of his country, or deign to dirt his hands in the destruction of a poor, pitiful French negro village.

December 2nd Mr. Campbell, late purser of the Active, and the son of the late Captain Williams, was permitted to go on their parole to Jamaica. Captain Stott had flattered us for some time with hopes of going in this flag of truce, but when we found ourselves disappointed, we gave way to the most unaccountable dejection, that such a misfortune alone could create or even authorise us to indulge in. From these and many, many more distressing circumstances, added to the want of common necessaries of life, we were all visited about this time with a severe and fatal sickness—destitute of assistance, unacquainted with medicine, and in a state sufficiently wretched to draw the compassion of the most hardened and savage beings who haunt the wilds of that late discovered country, New Zealand. But this degenerate race of Frenchmen, alone capable of such inhumanity, saw our misery increase with our days, and smiled as they saw us advancing to the grave.

The 4th of this month Mr. Bruce, midshipman of the late Minerva, died and was buried in the savannah, among the rest of his countrymen; and on the 15th Captain Stott also died, and was brought in a cart to our house to be buried, at ten o'clock in the night. We waited on the commandant, and requested the remains of Captain Stott might be deposited in the burial ground with some degree of decency, as he was amongst the oldest of his Britannic Majesty's captains.[1] But

[1] John Stott, a captain of 1758.

this being peremptorily refused, we dug a grave for him ourselves, alongside his midshipman and steward in the savannah ; and such as well could attend his funeral having assembled in their uniforms, we proceeded to the lonesome place which was to receive the body of the deceased, with as much decency and regularity as the circumstances would admit. The 21st, Mr. Vans, purser of the Minerva, was suffered to go to Jamaica with the son and nephew of Captain Stott, two boys about ten years old.

On January 12 an order came for Lieutenants Bartholomew and Adams, the two lieutenants of the Minerva, also to go to Jamaica, but unfortunately for the former, he died on the day of getting this information, and we buried him in the savannah among the rest of our friends. The conclusion of the year 1778 left us thus situated, without any probability of a favourable change, and we viewed the commencement of the present one with minds deeply impressed with a vicissitude of bad fortune and all the calamities possible to be described. I now come to that period wherein strength of constitution only could be my friend, as I was confined from January 10 to April 13 in a severe fever and ague, during which time I was so ill that a friendly black girl, who had more humanity than her neighbours, attended me while the fever was on me with hot bricks, which were put on my feet during the cold fit, and gave me such medicines and diet as she made out of herbs, &c.

On March 17 my old messmate and friend Lieutenant D'Arcy, of the Active, died, with whom I had lived in the Bristol for two years ; [1] this was a loss I more severely felt, as he was the companion of my orlopian days, and there was a tie of friendship

[1] He seems to be here counting months as years. D'Arcy was with him in the Bristol and Chatham, but not in the Orpheus.

peculiar to those who inhabit the confines of our wooden worlds. Having with as much decency as possible interred our friend, though few, very few, were able to attend his funeral, I must make another remark of these people's veneration for us. While we were about to dig poor D'Arcy's grave they insisted it should be dug north and south, and that, as they buried their friends east and west, we should, at all events, vary from them. This was a business few, if any, that was there knew anything about, and we were digging it by chance; but as soon as it was found necessary for the corpse to be so situated, that it might be in a more probable road to reach heaven—which must be the idea of those who first formed this whimsical mode—and as we was also informed by one of our messmates that it was the usual way in England, we determined our friend D'Arcy should receive that last attention, and we made a point of putting him as due east and west as it was possible, while all the others had been buried north and south from our not knowing this religious principle.

On April 28 I was astonished at receiving a letter from General D'Argout, directed to the Lieutenants Moriarty, Manley and James, giving us leave to embark in the first flag of truce for Jamaica, agreeable to a request from Sir Peter Parker; for I had long gave up all thoughts of ever again seeing Europe or any of the British dominions; and though I was at this period confined to my bed, I made a point, at the risk of my life, of accompanying the above two officers; and having borrowed fifty dollars of Lieutenant Lawford, who had a letter of credit to a merchant at the Cape, and paid all the little demands of hucksters, shoemakers, and washing, we set off from Ou Trou in the morning of April 30, all ill of fever, in a carriage we procured

for that purpose, leaving our poor unhappy friends with sad, dejected looks, and despair of ever following us. At eight o'clock in the morning, having arrived at the village Limonade, we took boat about a mile from thence, and at noon arrived at Cape Français, where we remained at a tavern till May 8, and embarked on board a flag of truce to the number of five officers of the navy, two masters of merchant ships, and thirty seamen. On the 10th we put into St. Jeremie's, another port in this island, where we received some more unfortunate prisoners, and on the following day bid an adieu to the inhospitable island of St. Domingo, where during my stay I had neither eat nor drunk in a Frenchman's house, nor received that civility and politeness which is said to be the characteristic of the French nation.

May 13, a day ever sacred in my memory, we arrived at Port Royal in Jamaica, naked and half starved, and the pictures of Hamlet's[1] apothecary, after an absence of nine months and three days. Distressed as I was for clothes, I immediately waited on the admiral, who received me with great satisfaction, kept me to dinner with him, and gave me, on my taking leave of him, a lieutenant's commission, appointing me to the Porcupine sloop of fourteen guns, commanded by Captain John Pakenham; and he further told me that, on hearing I was taken, he had directed me to be rated mate of the Bristol, and kept open on the books, and that I was entitled to prize money for her. I therefore called on the agent that evening, who paid me three hundred pounds, and I joined my ship the following morning as happy a fellow as ever crossed salt water.

The 18th of the month we sailed from this port in company with his Majesty's frigate Hinchinbroke

[1] A slip of the pen for Romeo and Juliet.

on a cruise off Cape Antonio, and on the 25th arrived off our station. On the following morning, when in the chase of a schooner, we ran on shore a little to the NW of the above cape, where we remained some hours, but very fortunately got off with little or no damage.

From May 26 to June 13 we chased and spoke a vast number of Spanish vessels bound to the Havana, but, not knowing it was a Spanish war, permitted them to proceed on their voyage. We also spoke his Majesty's ships Winchelsea, Camel, Lynx and Druid with a convoy for England from Jamaica, and on the 15th, our cruise being out and provisions growing short, we quitted our station and proceeded towards Jamaica. On July 1, judging ourselves, by reckoning, within a few leagues of Jamaica, we struck soundings on the Misteriosa Bank, about a hundred leagues to the westward of where we supposed ourselves, which obliged us to go immediately to half allowance, having only fourteen days' provisions at that rate; and on the 12th, having in vain strove to get within sight of land, we were put to a biscuit a day and an ounce of pork,[1] with half a pint of water.

That a matter of this strange nature should not appear altogether incredible, I shall account for our wants in such a short time by the following clear observations. The Camel had been sent on this station for a few days to accompany a fleet through the Gulf, and on her return she reported she had seen and chased a vast number of St. Domingo

[1] This is somewhat exaggerated. According to James' own log, now in the Public Record Office, they were put on half allowance on July 1; and on July 28, on one-third allowance. On August 1 they got some provisions from the shore—Grand Cayman; and on the 5th they were relieved. The distress was unquestionably extreme; but the one ounce of pork and nothing else appear to be imaginary.

ships, but from sailing very ill had only taken one which was very valuable; and that was a couple of ships to set off directly they might make their fortunes. In consequence of this, Sir Peter Parker directed his son, who commanded the Hinchinbroke, to take also the Porcupine under his command and proceed without loss of time to Cape Antonio, observing that it would take us a week to go, another to come, and cruise off the cape two more, for which we had provisions sufficient without delaying the time in getting more; and we therefore proceeded with four weeks' allowance, which, of course, fell soon very short, as we was at sea from the 18th of May to the 19th of August, and accounts for our wants without saying anything more on the subject. [July] 15, finding no possibility of reaching a port, we stood to the northward and kept in the latitude of Jamaica, hoping therefrom to fall in with the Jamaica fleet, which we knew was to sail from that island about this time. On July 30, our bread being all expended, we were reduced to the ounce of pork only, having no other kind of provisions in the ship; and our water being also out we were obliged to send daily on board the Hinchinbroke for a small cask, which was the more distressing as there was a probability of our separating in a gale of wind.

On August 5, our pork being also expended, and having no sort of eatable or drinkable in the ship, we saw from the masthead the long-expected and wished-for fleet which Providence had vouchsafed to send us when we expected no other but the most dreadful alternative of starving to death. This fleet was the Æolus and Prudent frigates with a convoy for England, who supplied us with three weeks' provisions and furnished us with every little necessary we was in want of. But as this assistance and

humanity was more particularly exemplary in the Prudent and Augustus Cæsar, and as I am under the necessity of saying little or nothing favourable of the Æolus, I must not forget to mention the great attention and civility paid us by Captain Waldegrave and the Lieutenants Campbell and Ferris, of the Prudent, and also of that of Captain Louis, of the above London ship, who sent us wine, tea, sugar, sheep, fowls and almost every article we could possibly make use of.

Having parted the company of this fleet we made sail, and on the following day saw the island of Grand Cayman, where we anchored for a few hours; and leaving the Hinchinbroke, sailed express for Jamaica with dispatches from Captain Parker. On the 14th we lost the captain of the maintop, who fell overboard and was drowned. On the 18th spoke his Majesty's ship Hound from the Bay of Honduras; and the 19th arrived at Port Royal, where we found every preparation making to receive the Count D'Estaing, who with a powerful fleet and army was hourly expected to attack Jamaica.[1] On the 20th we again sailed hence for the Old Harbour with dispatches for the Penelope, and on our return spoke a small schooner who came with orders for us to pursue the Penelope, and acquaint her with its being a Spanish war, which ship we overtook the following day, and on the 24th arrived at Port Royal and went alongside the wharf.

From September 1 to the 10th we were employed heaving down the ship, during which time nothing worthy of observation happened. On September 11, having certain intelligence of the Count D'Estaing's departure from Cape Français for

[1] Cf. Nicolas's *Dispatches and Letters of Lord Nelson*, i. 30, 31.

America, the advanced ships returned into harbour, and the booms were removed from the entrance thereof. On the 12th sailed on a cruise the Ruby, Lion, Salisbury, Bristol and Pallas off St. Domingo, and on the 14th the Janus, Niger, Penelope and Punch schooner off Cartagena and Porto Bello. The 12th of this month we also sailed from Port Royal for the Mosquito shore; but on the 13th, having carried away our mainmast, we returned into port, and having replaced it sailed on the 20th, taking with us Captain Commandant Dalrymple and a small party of the Loyal Irish, and, without meeting anything remarkable, anchored at Black River the 27th. The situation of this bay is dangerous beyond description, as the frequent north winds oblige ships to seek safety by running to sea, and the difficulty of landing—the river being defended by a dreadful bar—makes it still more uncomfortable. But as soon as you have overcome the danger of entering the river, which branches off different ways for 150 miles, you have a view of the most delightful country, diversified with woods and groves, hills and valleys, that can possibly be conceived, which Captain Pakenham and myself had an opportunity of experiencing, having spent a few days on shore with the Intendant of Black River.

On October 4th Mr. York, the master's mate, having been sent on shore for fresh beef, was lost in going over the bar, and himself and boat's crew drowned; and on the 5th the Indian king, princes, generals and chiefs dined on board us, who we saluted with twenty-one guns and a manned ship, and having taken every step to amuse them, sent them on shore quite drunk and highly pleased.

The Spaniards having attacked our settlements in the Bay of Honduras, Captains Pakenham and Dalrymple formed a plan of retaliating on the enemy

in some of theirs; and having embarked about a hundred Indians and Black River volunteers, under the command of the Indian general Tempest, we sailed from the Mosquito shore on the 6th instant with light westerly winds, and on the 7th saw three large sail to the northward in chase of us, which having spoke, we found to be his Majesty's ships Charon, Lowestoft and Pomona on a cruise; they confirmed the success of the Spaniards in the Gulf of Honduras, and further informed us that they had been in quest of two Spanish galleons, which had taken shelter under the garrison of Saint Ferdinand de Omoa, which place they found too strong to make an attack against; but the reinforcement of the Porcupine and Indians being judged sufficient, it was unanimously agreed to besiege the place by sea and land. We accordingly put ourselves under the command of Commodore Luttrell,[1] and made sail to the westward. The 8th we passed the island of Bonacca. Moving slowly on with variable winds, making scaling ladders, fascines, and the proper arrangements for the attack, on the 10th we anchored in the Bay of Truxillo, where we watered and wooded the ships, and on the 11th sailed again with our whole force, consisting of the following ships and vessels:—

	Guns	Men
Charon . . .	44	300
Lowestoft . . .	32	220
Pomona . . .	28	200
Porcupine . . .	16	100
Racehorse . . .	8	50
Peggy . . .	6	15

100 Indians and Volunteers
12 Loyal Irish.

[1] John Luttrell, afterwards Luttrell-Olmius, third Earl of Carhampton, a captain of 1762. Shortly after the Charon returned to England he retired, and in 1784 was made Commissioner of Excise. See *post*, p. 90.

ATTACK ON OMOA, October 17, 1779

From an original drawing by James

On the 13th we had light winds, with rain and thick weather, during which we passed the islands of Barbaretta, Ruatan, Moret and Helena. The 14th we lay off Utila in a calm, and on the 16th anchored in Porto Caballos Bay, and at nine o'clock in the night landed our force, consisting of 300 seamen and marines, the Indians, volunteers and Loyal Irish, forming in all a body of about 450 men; and having sent the Indians to secure the enemy's look-out houses, they returned, having killed one and taken two prisoners. At midnight they began their march along shore to the westward, and on their making the necessary signal, we weighed and followed them. On Sunday the 17th the troops halted to refresh, and the ships lay becalmed about a league off shore; at ten they began their march, and at noon attacked and carried the governor's house, situated on a hill which commands the garrison.

At three o'clock in the afternoon we made the signal for being ready to co-operate with the forces on shore, and at four the ships entered the harbour of Omoa and began to cannonade the garrison, which was warmly returned by the enemy with twenty or thirty heavy guns; at five o'clock the town was in flames and burnt to ashes, together with a great part of its inhabitants; at half-past five the Lowestoft ran on shore under the garrison, and during her stay there was much galled by the enemy's fire; at six o'clock, being unable to stand the attack any longer, the ships having been cut a good deal in their masts and rigging and having made no impression on the enemy's works, we were obliged to quit the harbour and run to sea, at which time the enemy made a sally from their works on the forces on shore, but was repulsed and driven again into the fortress.

Our loss in this day's action was as follows :—

	Killed	Wounded
Charon	2	9
Lowestoft . . .	4	10
Pomona	1	0
Porcupine . . .	1	2
Racehorse . . .	0	0
Peggy	0	0
Forces on shore . .	3	4
Total . . .	11	25

At midnight a reinforcement of a lieutenant and one hundred seamen was sent to endeavour to open a communication with the forces on shore, but circumstances prevented it; and the enemy's attempts to get possession of Governor's Hill also proved ineffectual. On the 18th in the morning we tacked and stood in for the harbour, but the wind would not permit us to renew the action against the garrison; and we hove to, maintopsail to the mast, within random shot of the works. At ten o'clock the Lowestoft was directed to anchor to leeward of the harbour to repair her defects, and the Charon, Pomona and Porcupine remained off the entrance of the harbour, with a view of diverting the enemy's attention, and taking the first opportunity of attacking the battery.

From ten to noon the captains reconnoitred in their boats and formed plans to open the desired communications with the forces on shore, while a constant cannonade was kept up by the garrison, with a view to dislodge them from Governor's Hill. At five o'clock, perceiving an English union jack flying in the woods by the water side, the Porcupine was directed to run in shore and land her guns, which we did amidst the fire of the garrison; and I

was sent on shore with fifty seamen to draw them past the enemy's works, through the town of Omoa, which was then continuing to burn, and to draw them up a prodigious steep hill, which I did with the loss only of one man killed and three wounded, one of which lost his arm in saving a dog, which I took possession of and called after the name of the garrison. At nine o'clock a battery of four of those guns opened on the enemy's works, and an incessant fire was kept up on both sides all night, and one of our guns was dismounted by the enemy.

Killed and wounded on the 18th :—

	Killed	Wounded
Seamen	3	5
Indians	1	2
Volunteer . . .	1	0
Blacks	0	3
Total . . .	5	10

Lieutenant Whiteman of the marines wounded.

The 19th, in the morning, I was ordered to take the command of the landing-place, where all our guns and ammunition were carried, for which service I had a hundred men ; and on this day three fresh batteries opened on the enemy from our works on Governor's Hill. At nine in the night the marines was marched off, and at midnight I received orders to give up the command of the landing-place to a volunteer officer, and join my ship. On my arrival on board I found the captain and ship's company was going volunteers on board the Pomona, which, with the Charon and Lowestoft, was going in against the garrison early in the morning, from which we was excluded, having all our guns on shore. I accordingly joined the captain and crew, and we arrived on board the Pomona just as she was

going to anchor under the battery. At break of day on the 20th we began a heavy cannonade on the enemy and stormed it with three hundred men on shore, and at six o'clock saw the Spanish flag struck and the British flag displayed on the walls of this important fortress, which was taken with a handful of seamen and marines; together with two galleons, a snow with dry goods, 70,000 dollars, a vast quantity of quicksilver, three or four hundred slaves, 60,000 pounds' worth of silks, cables, anchors, and, in short, altogether to the amount of a million sterling.

Killed and wounded on the 20th:—

	Killed	Wounded
Midshipman . . .	1	0
Seamen	5	3
Marines	4	5
Total	10	8

The 21st, the first lieutenant of the Charon being promoted to the command of the Porcupine, Captain Pakenham going home with the dispatches,[1] the commodore removed me from the Porcupine into the Charon, from which I was sent to command the St. Domingo, one of the galleons, having under my direction a mate, three midshipmen, and thirty-six of the best seamen in the Charon. On the 27th, having got ready for sea, I scaled the guns and bent sails, and on November 8 warped out of the harbour, and came to sail in company with the Charon, Lowestoft, Pomona, and St. Joseph galleon, leaving Fort Omoa and the prize snow under the protection of the Porcupine, with twenty of her men in the garrison, which, before I go further, I must

[1] The terms of the capitulation of Omoa are printed in Beatson's *Naval and Military Memoirs*, vi. 163; Luttrell's Dispatch, *ib.* p. 167.

observe was retaken shortly after; the Porcupine and snow being obliged to quit the port as it was attacked by a thousand regulars.

I must here make a digression and observe that the necessary harmony on these occasions did not subsist between the two commanders by sea and land, particularly after the reduction of the place. The general, or, more properly speaking, Captain Dalrymple, most assuredly deserves every applause that can be gave him for his conduct and merit throughout the whole siege, and I will take upon me to say that though the ships suffered most in loss of men, they were not entitled to as much merit as the forces on shore, who really took the garrison by storm; but as Captain Dalrymple has amused the public in his letter with a pompous account of the Loyal Irish, without mentioning their numbers, I shall investigate this matter and discover what ungenerous impropriety there was in taking the merit from those who only deserved it.

Captain Dalrymple, when he embarked with us in the Porcupine at Jamaica, brought with him two sergeants and six privates, besides two boys who were drummers, all of which great body was Loyal Irish, neither of whom, he candidly confessed, was of any more use than taking care of the baggage. Sixty Indians which ran away the night preceding the storm made also a part of what he called the army; several Mosquito shore volunteers composed also a part of these land forces, none of which was heard or seen when the garrison was to be stormed.

Why then, it remains to ask, who were the people that did escalade the works? Beyond a doubt, the seamen and marines belonging to the ships of war. Who was the first man on the wall? The ever-memorable Thomas Plunket,[1] a seaman,

[1] Schomberg (*Naval Chronology*, i. 476), in relating the story

who gave half his arms to his enemy to put him on a footing with himself. Who was the second, third, fourth, and fifth? Why, surely seamen. And who followed those seamen? Marines, clearly. Then who was the first officers on the wall? Why, two lieutenants of the men-of-war and a lieutenant of marines. Who was killed in fixing the ladders? A midshipman and a few seamen and marines. Why, then, surely this boasted army, which has deceived all Europe from the letter of Captain Dalrymple, appears to be seamen and marines only! In one part of his letter he says, 'An hour before break of day I marched the seamen and marines down the hill, flanked by the Loyal Irish.' How very probable it appears to those who were there that three hundred men should be flanked by six, and how certain it is that not a red coat was seen that morning, except his own, Lieutenant Carden's, and the marines! The ships, I must confess, did not come near enough the enemy's works the second time, and to me as an individual, not knowing the commodore's reasons, there appeared a very palpable error in neglecting it.

As I before observed, we sailed from St. Ferdinand de Omoa on November 8, and was immediately taken in tow by the Lowestoft. The weather being squally with rain, which continued till the 10th at night, I was obliged, from the Lowestoft being taken aback, to cut the hawser and run to leeward out of her way; at eleven the commodore made the signal to tack; at two, the wind shifting and blowing a heavy gale, I lost sight of the squadron, at which

of this singular adventure, adds that, on the return of the squadron to Jamaica, Sir Peter Parker promoted this man to be boatswain of a sloop of war; but a few years after, either in a fit of madness or intoxication, he struck the lieutenant of the Ferret, for which he was tried by court-martial, condemned to death, and executed.

time I saw the land on my lee bow, bearing ESE, distant three or four miles, and which having weathered by carrying a stiff sail, I brought to under the foresail. At six in the morning made sail under the courses to the NE; at eight I wore and saw the land bearing SWbS distant five or six leagues, and at noon was again obliged to bring to under the foresail, the weather continuing to blow hard, with thick foggy squalls. The 11th, the wind blowing as before, saw the island of Ruatan; at five fired six guns, signals for pilots, but night coming on, and the usual bad weather, I wore and stood out to sea.

On the morning of the 12th, Ruatan bearing N byW three leagues, I bore away for Truxillo on the Spanish main; at ten o'clock, being close in shore, the wind shifted and blew a heavy gale, with very thick weather, which obliged me to stand to the eastward; at noon lost sight of the land and found ourselves in a distressed situation, being in shoal water, and not a soul in the ship acquainted with the coast, which was ever allowed to be a very dangerous and difficult one. To all these uncomfortable reflections was added the want of an observation, never having seen the sun since we left Omoa, nor had I any charts of the Gulf of Honduras in the ship.

At two o'clock saw an island under our lee, which not being able to weather, and judging it to be Bonacca, bore away between it and the main. In this situation we found ourselves in shoal water and that we had mistaken the island, which was the Hogsties, and saw the mainland close under our lee beam; and though we had been taught to believe when we went to the attack of Omoa that there was no passage between the Hogsties and the main, I had no alternative left me but going on shore or sailing through the channel, and therefore kept her

before it under a foresail, sounding all the way from sixteen fathom to three, expecting momently to see her go down. But here again Providence stood our friend, and we discovered that there was a passage between this island and the main; and though perhaps a very narrow and intricate one, yet sufficiently good to bring this bulky, heavy galleon through.

As soon as I found myself clear of this island, I again hauled in for the land with hopes of finding to a certainty our situation; but the weather was so bad that I was obliged to stand off again at five o'clock, at which time I carried away my mizen-yard; at ten it fell a stark calm with thick foggy weather, when I found the current was setting us in shore, having shoaled the water from thirteen fathom to five. At half-past eleven came on a heavy gust of wind at north, directly on shore, and the man at the lead called out three fathom. I immediately took in my sails, and let go the best bower anchor, and found a strong current setting at the rate of three knots per hour to the ESE. Here I felt all the horrors peculiar to my situation—a gale of wind, dark night, lee shore, and a vessel worth 400,000*l.* under my command, together with the care of thirty or forty lives.

At break of day, which I waited for with anxious inquietude, I found the ship about a cable's length from the rocks, and the current setting strong on the bluff land to leeward of us. I found it impossible to weigh my anchor, and therefore cut the cable and made sail. Fortune again smiling on us, we once more escaped danger by running to sea, which we found difficult, as we could barely weather the land. At two o'clock in the afternoon, for the first time, the weather cleared up and we saw a vast number of rocks, islands, and shoals all round

us, and having fortunately two altitudes of the sun, we found ourselves abreast of Ruatan, though before this favourable circumstance various was our opinions: some said we was in the Gulf of Dulce; others, that the land on our lee was Point Manuick[1]; and one of the Spanish prisoners affirmed that those islands we saw was certainly down in the bottom of the Gulf. And notwithstanding the great improbability there was of our being drifted so far by those currents and gales, or of my being so much out in my reckoning, yet I must confess I was somewhat alarmed at the difference of opinion; however at four o'clock I was made perfectly easy by a view of Truxillo Bay, the place the commodore had appointed for the rendezvous, and I anchored at six, but found to my great surprise no other ship of the squadron there.

On examining my orders I found that, should I not join the squadron at Truxillo, I was to proceed to Falmouth in England, and having acquainted my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty with my arrival, wait their further orders. In consequence of which I immediately proceeded to wood and water the ship, which I was obliged to perform in a canoe, the ship's boat having being stove in the gales of wind; and as also the repairs of the rigging was necessary to encounter a winter's passage, I lost no time in completing the whole, and in short was complete and ready for sea on the 17th, in the morning, and should have sailed on that day towards the Gulf of Florida on my passage to Europe, had not a circumstance prevented me.

Before I proceed any further with my narrative, I shall give some little account of this bay, which is situated on the Spanish main, but some distance

[1] Cape Manabique.

from any inhabited place, the Spaniards having been driven from this once flourishing city about a hundred years past by the Indians and buccaneers, who destroyed and laid waste those valuable settlements. The wood in which the town once stood is about a quarter of a mile from the beach, and trees of a prodigious height had grown through the ruins of the houses, and formed such romantic scenes as was awfully pleasing; paved streets of a great length and breadth was plainly to be seen, and some of the remains of the churches and houses that were built with brick, discovered an elegance superior to modern architecture. In short I conceived from the appearance of the ruins that this had been what I was taught to believe it from report, a regular, well-built, magnificent city, though now covered in the midst of a dismal wood, inhabited only by wild beasts.

On the 16th, at noon, I saw a brig in the offing, standing into the bay, on which I made the signal for my people to come on board; and having made the private signal also to the brig, which from not being answered I had reason to suppose an enemy, I put the ship in as good a state of defence as was possible, by getting springs on my cables, and all the guns on one side, which was sixteen four-pounders and four six-pounders, besides swivels and cohorns; but as I had not men enough to fight all those guns after the first broadside I was determined to make that as formidable as possible.

The brig approached me with a deal of caution, and as soon as she was within gunshot I hoisted my colours, and fired a shot ahead of her, which she answered by hoisting an English ensign, and firing a gun to leeward. On her coming within hail, I found she was a brig the commodore had hired to go to the Salmedinas, some dangerous rocks on

the coast, in search of the St. Domingo, who the commodore had been informed was lost there, and that a ship had seen us go on shore, but that probably, was a vessel sent there, some of the crew might be saved; in consequence of which this vessel was sent there under the command of Lieutenant Butcher, who superseded me in the Porcupine, with directions to call into Truxillo in his way back, where it appears I was found. From Mr. Butcher I also learned that the Charon and Lowestoft had been nearly lost twice: once on Utila, and the second at Ruatan, where the Charon was on shore some hours; and that everybody had gave us over for lost. He further informed me that the squadron had put into Ruatan very sickly, and had sent on shore upwards of four hundred sick.

Notwithstanding Mr. Butcher had orders from the commodore to return with all possible speed, I found it necessary to detain him, and therefore, as the senior officer, gave him an order to put himself under my command, and also to send me on board his pilot; which done, I made the signal to weigh on the morning of the 17th, but was obliged, from its falling calm, to anchor again at noon, where I remained till eight o'clock in the evening, when we quitted Truxillo, and on the 18th at noon saw Ruatan bearing NE, distant five or six leagues, at which time I spoke a schooner from Ruatan bound to Omoa with some of the Porcupine people, which I thought necessary to order back, as her lieutenant was in the brig and would have no other opportunity of joining his ship. The 19th at noon I made signal for assistance, which was immediately sent me, and I came to in Port Royal harbour, Ruatan, and was moored and perfectly secure by six o'clock. The commodore was as much surprised to see me as he was happy to find us safe, and informed me with his

intention of sending the St. Domingo to Jamaica, under convoy of the Lowestoft frigate.

The squadron was reduced now very considerably in men, as they had two-thirds of the crew on shore sick; and buried while at Ruatan, and some little time after, upwards of one hundred and twenty seamen and marines, among which was the master of the Lowestoft, who died of the wounds he received at Omoa. The Charon, having taken on board the whole cargo of the St. Joseph galleon, was intended to proceed to England with all possible dispatch, while the Pomona was to remain at Ruatan to bring off the sick, as soon as it was judged practicable to remove them.

This island being uninhabited on our arrival, it becomes necessary for me to give some little account thereof, as it is in some measure connected with this narrative. The Spaniards, as before observed, having taken from us all our chief settlements in the Gulf of Honduras, and totally put a stop to our logwood trade, the merchants and traders solicited the commodore to settle the island of Ruatan, which is the key to the Bay of Honduras, and which was in our possession in the late war, but by the treaty of peace quitted and the works destroyed.[1] In consequence of the above application, the commodore took possession of the island in the name of his Britannic Majesty, and settled the island Ruatan on November 25, putting the place in as good a state of defence as possible by giving them two guns from every ship, and supplying them with arms and all kind of ammunition. The harbour of Port Royal, secured by nature in a wonderfully effective manner, is beyond doubt as good a one as any in the West Indies, and with the assistance of a little art might

[1] In 1763.

be rendered impregnable from any attack against it by sea. The island, which was uncultivated, produced of itself nothing more than trees and shrubs, but from its soil I was taught to believe it would in a few years become a flourishing little spot, and repay the planters for their trouble.

On November 26, having taken leave of the commodore, and saluted him with three cheers, I put to sea in company with the Lowestoft, and having passengers with me—one gentleman, a woman and two daughters, besides three mulatto women and four black girls, which were taken prisoners at the siege of Omoa. The 27th, at nine o'clock in the morning, the St. Domingo sprung a leak, and gained some inches on both pumps in a few minutes. I immediately made the signal of distress, and the Lowestoft sent her boats to my assistance, and I soon found the leak was under her larboard counter, where a severe stroke of lightning had wounded her, as we were informed by the Spanish prisoners, at Omoa.

Having stopped the leak by nailing some lead on the defect, we again made sail, and on the 19th, at eight in the morning, a heavy squall of wind took us with all sail set, and, I may say with propriety, upset us, as the boat on the main-deck was fairly washed on her lee gunwale, and the ship for some minutes remained on her beam ends. The Lowestoft, who saw our situation, was hoisting out her boats with an intention to save the people; the women, who was working on the quarter-deck, was all paddling to leeward, and with their shrieks adding to the confusion of the times; while myself and people were endeavouring to cut away the masts, which however very fortunately we could not accomplish from the want of an axe, as she righted herself as soon as the squall was over, without any accident

but that of our cutting some of the rigging, which we soon replaced, and went on again as usual, having seated the ladies as before on the hen-coops.

On December 5 we buried one of the Spanish prisoners, who we found dead in the gun-room. On the 7th saw the island of Little Cayman, bearing SEbE, distant four leagues; and on the 8th made Jamaica, bearing East, nine or ten leagues distant. From the 9th to the 14th we was beating to windward under the SW end of the island; and on the 15th, having carried away our fore topsail yard, I put into Bluefields Bay to repair the loss, and sailed again from thence on the 16th; and that evening, the Lowestoft being gone in chase of a schooner, a Spanish privateer came out from under the land and fired a shot at me, which I returned with a broadside, and which soon brought the Lowestoft to my assistance, though I was perfectly convinced we was of sufficient force to give this gentleman a thrashing. The Lowestoft chased her a few miles, but being apprehensive of my receiving some more of these favours, she quitted her, having retaken a prize, which was in possession of the privateer.

On the 18th we arrived at Port Royal, in Jamaica, where I saluted the admiral with thirteen guns, who returned me eleven, and where, to my great astonishment, I found my ship, the Charon, among the rest of the fleet, which happened in consequence of the following circumstance. A few days after we left Ruatan the Charon sailed, as before intended, for England, and on her passage through the Gulf of Florida spoke his Majesty's ship Salisbury, who informed Captain Luttrell that various reports had been lately circulated about Jamaica greatly to his dishonour, and that he was accused of not doing his duty at Omoa. This made the commodore alter his plan and return to Jamaica, where,

on January 14, at a court of inquiry held on board his Majesty's ship Niger, he was honourably acquitted of the malicious charges alleged against him.

On December 28 a survey was held on the St. Domingo, which ship was condemned as unfit to proceed on her voyage to Europe, and her cargo, consisting of twelve hundred and thirty-two sarroons of indigo and a large quantity of sarsaparilla and hides, were put on board his Majesty's ship Leviathan,[1] the captain of which ship was to have three thousand pounds freight. Various were the debates on this business, and numbers were much against the plan of putting it in the Leviathan, particularly myself, who was well convinced that the St. Domingo was every way better calculated and qualified to carry home this valuable cargo than that ship; and myself and people who were in her for three months offered to remain and proceed in her to Europe. However, the matter was carried against us, and I saw with some concern the whole of her cargo delivered to that ship.

On January 16, having gave up the hull of the St. Domingo to our agent at Jamaica, I joined the Charon for the first time since my being appointed to her, and on the 17th sailed from Port Royal, in company with his Majesty's ships Ruby, Lion, Bristol, Salisbury, Janus, Resource, Lowestoft, Pallas, Galatea, Delight, and about ninety sail of merchant ships; and, without meeting any particular

[1] This was the 70-gun ship Northumberland, which, having been condemned as worn-out, had been named Leviathan and sent to North America as a store-ship. In the exigencies of the moment, when Howe was preparing to receive D'Estaing at Sandy Hook, in July 1778, she was reconverted into a ship of war carrying fifty guns. She had afterwards been sent to Jamaica, and now appeared on the list as an effective addition to Parker's squadron.

circumstances, except taking a Spanish privateer and a vessel loaded with mahogany, parted from the admiral and his squadron on February 9 in latitude 29° 00′ N, longitude 72° 00′ W, who returned to Jamaica, leaving the Leviathan and Charon with the charge of the convoy. On the 20th, one of the convoy made the signal of distress, and we had just time to save her crew before she went down. The 24th, the Leviathan also made the signal of distress, and, after a council of war held by the captain and officers of the said ship, they quitted her and came on board the Charon and some of the merchant ships.

At nine o'clock in the night, the Charon's ship's company having offered themselves volunteers to attempt the saving of a part of our valuable prize, I was directed to take command of fifty men and endeavour to keep her above water till the morning. I accordingly left the ship with as many men as the two boats could carry, on a very disagreeable night and on the coast of America, blowing very strong; and on my coming near to the Leviathan, which ship was rolling and tumbling about in a strange distressed manner, the ship fell on the boat and upset her and drowned seven of my people; the rest, consisting of the boatswain and six men, got into the ship with me, and I found myself in a ship with nine feet water in the hold, all the boats stove except the jolly-boat, and, instead of fifty men, had only twenty-two, as the Charon had no other boats to send the men in, and I did not choose to let the jolly-boat quit the ship for any more.

We all turned to the pumps without distinction, and with hard work kept her above water till the morning, when I got out of her one hundred and twenty-three sarroons of indigo, valued at sixteen thousand pounds; but, night coming on again,

and having an appearance of a gale of wind, and no person offering to relieve me in the fatigue of this duty, I judged it prudent to quit her just before dark, when I had the misfortune to lose another man, who was drowned alongside of the Charon. We kept near all the night to the Leviathan, and on the 26th made sail with the convoy, leaving our property, valued at three hundred and fifty thousand pounds, to sink with the ship; and we went on sadly dejected at this unfortunate stroke, and too clearly convinced in the end which would have been the safest and best ship to convey the cargo to Europe.

Thus was I at once deprived of a property of two thousand pounds sterling by the impropriety of a few individuals who had planned this injudicious project, and who in fact was not at all concerned in the capture; and I can say with impunity that the plausibility of its arriving safe in the Leviathan as little struck me as the difficulty of taking it from the enemy did those who caused it to be put in the bowels of a rotten, decayed, and in fact condemned ship. For surely had those inconsiderate friends of ours experienced a part of the danger and fatigue of the attack on Omoa, had they read prayers over all the unhappy fellows who lost their lives in the action and by sickness acquired therefrom, they would have taken more care, more prudent steps to secure the rewards thereof, and not by an ill-timed manœuvre deprive themselves of so capital a sum. But to forget this unfortunate stroke I shall summon to myself every philosophical aid, and conclude with the lines of Mr. Pope that 'Whatever is, is right.'

The weather from this time to our arrival in England became so very bad that we parted company with the whole convoy, and arrived in the Downs on March 21, after a passage of nine weeks. Having been out of England five years and a half,

I procured leave of absence for three weeks, and left the Charon in the Downs on the morning of our arrival, and stopping a few days in London, proceeded on to Falmouth, where I arrived the 27th at noon; and on April 14 returned again to London, from which joined my ship at Chatham the 29th, and found her repairing in dock, and that Captain Luttrell had sent me a letter to Falmouth increasing my leave to nine weeks, which unfortunately I did not benefit by.

From May 1 to June 24 I had lodgings in Chatham, during which time I visited London twice, and on June 16 Captain Luttrell was superseded by Captain Thomas Symonds,[1] whose son was also appointed to the ship third lieutenant; and on July 1 we fell down to Sheerness, where [we] got in our guns, and on the 12th removed to the Little Nore, at which time the purser, surgeon, lieutenants of marines, gunner and carpenter, all quitted the ship. On the 24th we sailed from the Nore, and the 25th anchored in the Downs, which we again quitted with a convoy on the 28th, and arrived at Spithead the following morning, where the first lieutenant was superseded by Mr. Thomas Edwards.

August 6 we sailed from Spithead, and the 7th anchored in Plymouth Sound, where we remained till the 9th, when we proceeded down Channel; and on the 10th took our departure from the Lizard, and I once more bid an adieu to the British shore, which my inclination would have prevented had not my situation rendered a scheme of that kind totally im-

[1] A captain of 1771; died in 1793. He was the father of Sir William Symonds, surveyor of the navy from 1832 to 1847; and grandfather of the late Sir Thomas Matthew Charles Symonds, admiral of the fleet. The son here mentioned as lieutenant of the Charon, Jermyn John Symonds, was lost in command of the Helena sloop, in 1796.

practicable, and I proceeded on this fourth excursion across the Atlantic with less satisfaction than I ever before experienced on a similar occasion. The 11th at noon we arrived at Cork, where we found his Majesty's ships Lennox, Bienfaisant, Licorne, Hussar, and one hundred sail of transports. The 12th we weighed and sailed hence with a convoy of seventy sail of victuallers for America; the Bienfaisant and Licorne also sailing with us, with a view of seeing us sixty leagues to the westward. We lay to off Cork harbour all night waiting for the rear of the convoy to join, and in the morning of the 13th saw a large two-decked ship standing into the fleet.

The Bienfaisant having made the Licorne's and Hussar's signal to remain with the convoy, and our signal to come within hail, we spoke her, and both gave chase together; at half-past seven the chase shortened sail and put herself in a disposition for the attack, on which the Bienfaisant hoisted her colours, and fired a shot ahead of her, when she hoisted an English blue ensign and hove to, main topsail to the mast, as did both the Bienfaisant and Charon. From the evasive answers of our opponent she was discovered to be an enemy, too late for Captain Macbride[1] to take the advantage of a well-directed broadside he had prepared for her, and was obliged in consequence thereof to commence the action with musketry only, when the enemy hoisted French colours and fired her musketry at the Bienfaisant, and stern chasers at the Charon. The action then began in a serious manner on both sides, and continued for three-quarters of an hour with some warmth, during which we kept alternately exchanging places with the Bienfaisant alongside the enemy; at half-past eight A.M. she struck, and

[1] John Macbride, captain of the Bienfaisant. He died, a rear-admiral, in 1800.

proved Le Comte D'Artois, a private ship of war of sixty-four guns, and seven hundred and fifty men, commanded by Monsieur Clonard. She had one hundred and nineteen killed and wounded,[1] among which was the captain and his brother; the latter was Colonel of the Legion of Artois, and was killed in the beginning of the action, the former wounded in the mouth with a musket ball. The Bienfaisant had two killed and two wounded;[2] the Charon one only wounded, as the enemy, with a view of disabling us, fired chiefly at the rigging, which suffered a good deal; our mizen topsail yard was shot away in the slings, some of the topmast rigging cut, and a number of the running ropes, but which we repaired in a few hours. I cannot say too much in praise of the bravery and skill of Monsieur Clonard, who fought his ship with great obstinacy, as long as his people would stand to their quarters. Indeed the number of killed and wounded, and the sad slaughter we found in his ship, is a sufficient comment on his courage.

The prisoners being exchanged, the convoy having joined, and the Bienfaisant and prize under way for Crookhaven in Ireland, we made sail and proceeded to the westward with moderate gales and fine pleasant weather, and on September 12, the Hussar being sent in chase of a ship, parted company and never joined us for seven days, when she informed us that in the night the chase waited for her coming up, which she found to be a French forty-gun frigate, and which she engaged for some time, having lost seven men killed and six wounded,

[1] According to Macbride's official letter of August 13, she had twenty-one killed and thirty-five wounded. Colonel Clonard and another brother, a captain of the Legion, as well as the Chevalier, who commanded the ship, were prisoners. The number of men on board was 'upwards of six hundred.'

[2] Three killed and twenty-two wounded.

and lost her three topmasts and lower masts all disabled. The Hussar was an eight and twenty only, but remained master of the field, the Frenchman having found her, to his great surprise, equal to a very superior force.

On October 14 we arrived at Charlestown with our whole convoy, after a passage of nine weeks, and the following day a prodigious heavy gale of wind obliged half the ships to cut and run to sea, the convoy being at anchor off the bar, some of which never joined us again, being taken or lost. During our stay here I accompanied Captain Symonds on shore, where the bad weather obliged us to remain till the 20th, [during] which time we lived at a Colonel Balfour's, and slept at Lord Cornwallis'. The 22nd we sailed from Charlestown with a convoy of fifty sail of transports, and on November 4 arrived at New York, having taken on our passage a rebel privateer of eight guns and fifty men, and a brig, which we retook, from London bound to Charlestown with bale goods. We found at Sandy Hook Sir George Rodney with eight sail of the line and several frigates, waiting a wind to sail for the West Indies.

The following day we proceeded through the Narrows up to New York, where we was employed till the 14th refitting for sea. On the 9th the Hussar frigate was dispatched to Gardiner's Bay with some intelligence from the general to Admiral Arbuthnot; which ship was lost going through Hell Gates, and several of her crew drowned; and on December 2 we hoisted the above admiral's flag, and was joined by the following ships at Staten Island: Thames, Charlestown, Medea, Amphitrite, Fowey, Hope, Bonetta, Swift, and several armed vessels; and the following day received on board Brigadier-General Arnold, who

with two thousand troops was going with us on an expedition. On December 12 we sailed from hence, carrying the admiral's flag to sea with us till we was out of sight of land, with a view of deceiving the rebels, and making our expedition of more consequence in their eyes. On the 23rd, the weather being calm, we discovered a ship and four small sail to the southward, who had all the appearance of an enemy. I was therefore sent in a privateer, which rowed well, to reconnoitre them, when I found them prizes belonging to his Majesty's ship Royal Oak. The 25th, in the morning, we took a schooner from St. Eustatius, bound to Philadelphia with rum and dry goods, and gave the charge of her to Mr. Symonds and Bruton; and on the following day parted company with the prize and part of the convoy in a heavy gale of wind, and on the 29th joined the fleet again off the capes, the weather becoming moderate and fair.

The squadron entered the Chesapeake on the evening of December 30, and the Charon ran on shore on Willoughby Shoal about eight o'clock, where she remained till the morning, when we got off, the weather being moderate, without any damage, and proceeded as high up as Newportnews, where we captured six brigs and schooners belonging to the rebels, loaded with tobacco, and burnt and destroyed as many more. Some intelligent pilots being much wanted to conduct the ships and troops up James River, and as also we had reason to suppose the enemy had secured some of their ships in Hampton Creek, a force was directed to land, consisting of two detachments from the Queen's Rangers and 80th Regiments, together with a hundred seamen from the Charon, under the joint command of Captain Hawthorne of the 80th and myself, forming in all a body of three hundred men. At

seven o'clock in the evening we completed the landing at Newportnews without any opposition, and at eight began our march; the Rangers in front, seamen in the centre, and the 80th in the rear, with advanced and flanking parties from the Rangers.

Having marched through a thick wood we discovered a house, from which we took a rebel prisoner as a guide, amidst the deep lamentations and cries of his disconsolate wife and children, whom we endeavoured in vain to comfort by every possible assurance of his safety. The terrified conductor having informed us of our being out of the road to the town of Hampton, we were obliged to return the same way we came for two miles, when he led us through a remarkable good and pleasant road. We continued during our march to examine all the houses, and take into custody all those we found therein, to prevent their alarming the country, which, though absolutely necessary and unavoidable, was distressing beyond measure to those unfortunate inhabitants, who was too much alarmed even to speak.

1781.—At twelve o'clock in the night we entered the town of Hampton, dividing ourselves in three divisions, and surrounding with a profound silence the chief streets and houses, and taking out of their beds the principal inhabitants. We again formed on the parade; and at two o'clock quitted the town without committing any other outrages than those that are ever unavoidable with such a body of men, in an enemy's town in the dead of night.

Before I proceed on our retreat, I shall make some remarks on the consequences arising from this night's business to myself, during my remaining in Virginia. On entering the house of Mr. Jones in the above town, we unfortunately alarmed the family so much that the ladies were almost in fits, which

gave me an opportunity, from a very particular attention on this night, to become a favourite of the family; having relieved them from all the fears and apprehensions our visit had thrown them into by directing the soldiers and seamen to remove to the bottom of the street, and sitting with them myself in a friendly manner upwards of an hour. This will be found productive of many favourable circumstances hereafter, as I was frequently obliged in my turn to visit Hampton with flags of truce, and solicit for myself that civility which my inclination had taught me to show my enemy on this night.

At seven in the morning we returned to the place of debarkation, with the loss only of six soldiers and one seaman, found missing on our arrival, and having two of the Rangers wounded by skirmishing parties harassing our rear, and having performed in the course of the night a march of twenty-seven miles, discharging in our way back all those people we had taken from their houses on the road, with thanks for their attention.

January 1 the army proceeded up James River, under cover of the Charlestown, Bonetta, and Swift, and the same evening I was dispatched up the Nansemond River with the command of five boats, to gain information of the enemy's strength in that country, and also to make myself acquainted with what shipping was in the river. The Nansemond is in length about twenty-five miles, and in breadth in general about half a mile, but in some places not more than fifty yards, when you come so high up as the west branch. With my oars all muffled and with a profound silence we entered the river at ten o'clock in the night, landing frequently to seek for a house to gain intelligence from; which, however, we never found till we arrived as high as the west branch, as the darkness of the night prevented

us from seeing any distance. After many fruitless searches we discovered a house of some consequence in appearance, on entering which we found a most lovely young lady alone, sitting by the fire, weeping immoderately.

Having by every possible means and persuasive argument removed her apprehensions, and dried up the tears of her distress, I requested to be informed with the cause of her being up at so unusual an hour, as I could not conceive it was on our account, as no person knew of our being in the Nansemond River; and that having come there with a view rather to relieve than distress the inhabitants, I flattered myself she would discover to me, though a stranger, wherein she was unhappy, that I might have the felicity of sympathising with so amiable a fair. 'Indeed,' replied this good girl, 'my own fears being removed, and my apprehensions of your using me ill totally vanished, gratitude obliges me to feel for the safety of so generous an enemy in return. You are much mistaken,' continued this generous fair, 'if you think your being in this river is a secret, for know, sir, it has been discovered ever since you entered it, and the country some hours alarmed. My father, who is a colonel in the militia, is gone with several detachments down the river to cut off your retreat, and upwards of four hundred men are posted at Mackay's Mills for the same purpose; and in hopes of your staying till daylight in the river, they do not mean to attack you till that time.'

Whether this was an absolute fact or not, it was necessary for me to guard against its consequences; and having found also from this lady that there was a ship, brig, and sloop at Suffolk, about four miles above us, and thanked her for her very friendly and seasonable information, I joined in the opinion of the different lieutenants I had then the honour to

command, that a precipitate retreat was absolutely necessary, having performed the service we came on. At half-past three in the morning we was all in our boats and under way down the river, and, agreeable to the information we had received from our female friend, were warmly attacked by the enemy at Mackay's Mills, who kept a heavy and regular fire on us. The rapidity of the ebb tide and extreme darkness of the night prevented the execution of the enemy's fire, and we passed the whole river, as also the town of Nansemond, with no other accident than one man wounded and several shots through the boats. The Thames's long-boat rowing badly was very near cut off; but having detached Mr. Bruton in the Charon's cutter to take her in tow, she also repassed the fire safe, and we arrived on board about ten in the morning, perfectly acquainted with the state of the river, and the difficulties attending an attack on the above vessels, unless the army took possession of both shores.

January 2 I was sent to Hampton with a flag of truce, where I received the highest civility for my treatment of the inhabitants on the night of December 31, and came off loaded with presents from Mrs. Jones and her amiable daughters, with whom I spent the greatest part of the day. The first lieutenant having been dispatched up James River with the army, I was directed on the morning of the 3rd to take command of a hundred seamen and marines from the different ships of war, and land and forage for the squadron. At eight o'clock in the morning we began our march from Newportnews into Elizabeth county, and advanced about ten miles, in the course of which time I had collected fifty-seven head of cattle, forty-two sheep, some hogs, poultry, &c., and at three o'clock in the afternoon began our retreat in the following curious order:

myself mounted on a horse, having been wounded in my foot with a bayonet when in pursuit of a rebel; six butchers with their professional instruments, as an advanced guard; the cattle drove by thirty negroes; two carts with dead hogs, and one with poultry; the seamen in the centre, and the marines in the rear to cover our retreat; with four marines on each flank, occasionally relieved from the rear. The whole country being one continued wood, it will not appear strange when I say our stock was decreased, on our arrival at the place of debarkation, to forty-three head, exclusive of sheep, hogs, and poultry, all of which, with the people, arrived on board vessels sent for that purpose at seven o'clock in the evening, without any other accident than the one I before mentioned of myself.

The following day I was again directed to land with the same number of men for the same purpose; but finding a flag of truce was to be sent to Hampton, I solicited the commodore to let me go on that service, and the command of the foraging party was gave to the second lieutenant of the Iris. Lieutenant Brown, of the marines, who was with me the day before, and some other of the naval lieutenants, had treated my caution and tedious mode of retreating, as they termed it, with a deal of contempt, observing repeatedly that such care was unnecessary; and when the command of the expedition devolved, by my going to Hampton, on Lieutenant Tulloch, the above marine officer advised him only to take forty marines, which he assured him was sufficient to defeat any number the enemy could assemble to attack them. With these prepossessions in favour of themselves, they landed and pursued the same road we had been before, and in the evening was returning, with a considerable

quantity of forage, divided and scattered about the woods in keeping the cattle together. In this situation they were attacked by an inferior force of horse and foot well acquainted with the country, who, in short, defeated them, mortally wounding Lieutenant Brown (who died the following day) and nine marines, who with eleven more (exclusive of the wounded) were taken prisoners. Lieutenant Tulloch, to his great credit, when attacked, fought as long as the people had ammunition, and retreated safe at last on board with the remaining few he had left, himself having several shots through his clothes.

I need not observe how forcibly the impropriety of wrapping themselves in such security must have struck them in the cool moments of reflection, and I had been taught, by dear-bought experience in the vast number of expeditions I had been on at various times in America, that those people seldom, if ever, would make the attack unless they were infinitely superior in number, or could reap advantage from the disorder or ill-conduct of their enemy; which would authorise an officer to be particularly attentive when entrusted with the lives of a set of brave men.

I returned from Hampton in the evening, as usual supplied with the best of its produce by my worthy and fair acquaintances, the Miss Joneses, not a little satisfied with the choice I had made of visiting them in preference to commanding the foraging party.

I now come to matters of more importance: the army's manœuvres up James River and the various employments of the shipping in assisting them. General Arnold reached Burd's Landing January 6, and from thence marched to Richmond, which is 140 miles from the Capes of Virginia, where, having destroyed the following stores, &c., he returned to

the above landing with the loss only of three killed and fifteen wounded.

At Richmond destroyed: 600 hogsheads of rum, 300 barrels of powder, 1,500 stand of arms, 100 hogsheads of tobacco, 500 hogsheads of wine, 200 bushels of salt, 70 hogsheads of bread, 200 casks of tar, a large granary of corn, quartermaster-general's stores, smiths' shops, a quantity of clothing for the army, several vessels loaded with tobacco, and one of the best foundries in all America, besides having brought off several pieces of brass cannon, casks of tar, tobacco, bread, &c. &c.

This service, so very essential to Great Britain and fatal in its consequences to the rebels, was performed with less men and time than any expedition hitherto undertaken in America, having penetrated into the heart of Virginia with fifteen hundred men and cut off the supplies destined for the use of the Southern Army opposing my Lord Cornwallis.

The 12th, Colonel Simcoe, with his own corps, surprised two hundred of the rebel militia, killed and took prisoners about fifty. The 14th the troops moved to Smithfield and captured forty hogsheads of tobacco from that town. On the 15th the army left Smithfield, and the squadron removed down to Newportnews, and on the 16th Colonel Simcoe took an officer and fifteen privates of the rebel militia prisoners. The 18th the army arrived at Mackay's Mills, in the Nansemond River, and I was sent with a detachment of boats to supply them with bread, which I delivered at one o'clock in the afternoon; and at midnight we began to embark the troops in flat boats and cross them over the river to the attack of Portsmouth. At 2 P.M. the army began their march towards Portsmouth, a detachment with Colonel Simcoe having gone off some hours before, and the town surrendered at discretion the following day.

The boats of the fleet having assembled on board a brig in the Nansemond River after the departure of the army, with a view of returning to the ships at Newportnews, it was proposed and agreed on by the different officers commanding boats, that before we commenced our retreat we should land and forage and burn Mackay's Mills, [from] which place I received that warm attack, discovered to me by the young lady. At four o'clock P.M. we landed, forming a body of a hundred seamen under the command of the first lieutenant of the Charon, and soon demolished the mills, advancing into the country about two miles; but some difference of opinion arising between us about a skirmish we had with a rebel colonel, whose house and furniture we destroyed, Lieutenant Edwards directed us to join our boats and proceed to the ships, giving the charge thereof up to me, and pushing off himself for the Charon in her barge.

I quitted the brig and proceeded down the river at seven o'clock, and at ten landed a little above Nansemond town with sixty men, and surprised a plantation, from which I borrowed a few sheep, hogs and poultry, for the use and benefit of his Majesty's subjects, who I conceived entitled to fresh provisions from their enemy on all such occasions. I arrived on board the Charon at midnight, having a sufficient quantity of forage to serve the whole ship's company two days, as had all the other officers for their respective ships.

A ship pierced for fourteen guns was captured at Portsmouth, and on the 20th a part of the squadron went into the harbour, and the Charon, Iris, Thames, Fowey, and Swift fell down to Sewell Point with the prizes; and at noon I was directed to take the command of the Rattlesnake, mounting ten three-pounders and six swivels, and hold myself in readi-

ness to sail, when directed, with the prizes for New York. The army at this period was employed in throwing up works for the defence of Portsmouth, and making small excursions round the neighbourhood to quell the little rebellion that remained in the county at this period.

At eight o'clock on the night of the 21st a prodigious heavy gale of wind came on and drove one of the prizes on board the Rattlesnake, having before I got clear of her, carried away the fore and crossjack yards, fore-channels, both quarters, and best bower cable. Three of the prizes were drove on shore, two of which was got off three days after, but a schooner with fifty-four hogsheads of tobacco was totally lost.

From the 21st to the 24th I was employed in refitting the Rattlesnake for sea, and on this evening I proceeded to Portsmouth with all the prizes, where, on my arrival, General Arnold told me the commodore had assured him I should sail in the Rattlesnake for New York with his dispatches to Sir Henry Clinton immediately, and showed me a letter from the commodore to that purpose. I, in consequence thereof, read all the general's dispatches to the commander-in-chief, that in case of throwing them overboard, if chased by a superior force, I should be able, in some measure, to give an account of his proceedings, and discover to his Excellency the immediate wants of the army.

Desirous of forwarding the service, I did not wait for any further directions for getting under sail, expecting a confirmation of those orders from the commodore when I joined him at Sewell Point, at which place I, of course, must stop to receive his dispatches also. Some unaccountable difference and disagreement having taken place between the two commanding officers previous to my receiving the

general's dispatches, the commodore directed me to return immediately to Portsmouth and give back the packets I was charged with for Sir Henry Clinton. In consequence of this I again moored and secured in that harbour, having informed General Arnold of the commodore's commands.

The Charlestown and Hope, having been sent into the bay to watch the motions of the enemy, fell in with and destroyed a Baltimore fleet, consisting of eight vessels loaded with flour, bound to the Havana, and retook a brig loaded with rice and indigo from Carolina, on which service a gunner, carpenter, and eight men were blown up. The 27th, a lieutenant of the artillery was killed when commanding a foraging party, and the lieutenant of the Swift made prisoner from some illegal mode of proceeding with a flag of truce.

The General Monk sloop of war having arrived from New York, with an account of a French ship of the line and two frigates having sailed from Rhode Island as supposed for the Chesapeake, the Charon, Charlestown, and Hope came into the harbour, and on the 31st a heavy gale of wind drove on shore the Charon, which however got off with little or no damage.

February 5 I fell down with the prizes to the west branch, having run on shore in my passage down but got off without hurt; and on the 7th, having put myself and the rest of the prizes under convoy of his Majesty's ship Charlestown, we put to sea and proceeded towards New York. On our passage down the Chesapeake one of the prizes was run on shore by the people with a view of giving her to the rebels, which vessel I was sent in pursuit of, and having fired several shots into her I boarded her and got her off, confining the people till I joined the Charlestown, when I sent them on board that

ship. On the night of 11th, finding the Langolee prize some distance astern of the convoy, I dropped into the rear of the fleet and took her in tow, and at midnight brought her into the centre of the convoy, at which time a heavy gust of wind obliged me to cut the hawser and clap before it, and it was with some difficulty and a length of time I was able to hand my sails, which done I struck the topgallant yards and masts, and lay to under a close-reefed mainsail.

In the morning I found I had parted company with the Charlestown and convoy, which, however, I had reason to consider no great misfortune, as the Rattlesnake was a prime sailer, and able to prevent a successful attack from any of the small rebel cruisers, and I had hopes of reaching New York much sooner by taking the first advantage of the winds and weather, which was not so practicable with a convoy, though a matter devoutly to be wished for at this season of the year on the boisterous coast of North America. With these considerations I at first pleased myself with hopes of better weather, which I was much too sanguine in, for the gale increased to an alarming degree, and in the evening I found we had sprung a leak and had four feet water in the hold. This became infinitely more distressing as the ice had choked the pumps, and all our efforts to light a fire to procure hot water proved ineffectual. The frequent mode of applying a quantity of salt and running a long iron down to force a passage for it to act was at last used with success, and we was then able with both pumps to keep her free.

The gale having so much abated on the morning of the 15th as to enable me to set the fore and main staysails, I stood towards the land, and at noon saw a ship and two schooners, which, on making the

private signal, I found to be the Charlestown and two of the convoy, which I joined before dark; and on the 16th we made the high land of Neversink, and that night, with extreme difficulty, reached New York, the river being full of ice. The other prizes, which had parted company with me in the gale, arrived safe three days after.

The accommodations of the Charity brig being infinitely superior to the Rattlesnake's, I removed my headquarters on board her, taking with me such of the midshipmen as I could make companions of, and where, being allowed a guinea a day for my table, I could live tolerably snug and comfortable. The 18th we began to discharge our prizes, which were all loaded with tobacco; on which day, by the accident of getting my hand in a block, I broke the little finger of my right hand, and prodigiously tore and mangled the rest of my fingers. On clearing the Rattlesnake I was astonished to find her bottom so very bad that her coming from Portsmouth to New York was considered almost a miracle, and had I known the alarming state she was in while at sea in her, I should have entertained no hopes of ever reaching land, as all her bottom was obliged to be shifted ere she could again venture out of port. But the fickle goddess Fortune, reserving me for some more pleasing dissolution than either being drowned or shot, has in these moments of peril and danger stood forth my friend when I have almost thought it beyond the power even of [the] Fates themselves to prevent the blow.

Having discharged the duty I was sent on to the entire satisfaction, I flatter myself, of the captors, I waited on the commanding officer of the port and requested he would cause me to be sent with my people to join the Charon the first opportunity. Captain Hudson, with whom I sailed in

the Orpheus, and who I have so very particularly mentioned in this narrative, having his both lieutenants sick at the hospital, requested I would do the duty of first lieutenant in the Richmond with him until I joined my ship; I consequently embarked on board with my people and commenced, for a time, lieutenant accordingly in that frigate.

On March 18 we sailed from Sandy Hook with the command of the following fleet, and proceeded to the southward:—Chatham, Roebuck, Raleigh, Bonetta, Savage, Halifax, Vulcan fire-ship, with transports having on board two thousand troops under the command of General Philips. On the 26th we spoke the Pearl and Iris, who informed us of an action having been fought a few days before between the British fleet under the command of Admiral Arbuthnot and the French fleet from Rhode Island—an action too well known to need any comment of mine; a battle too recent in the mind of every British seaman to enable him to forget, and an engagement which will ever stain the annals of this country.[1] On the 28th we arrived in Lynnhaven Bay in the Chesapeake, and found lying there the fleet under Mr. Arbuthnot repairing the damages of the late action; and on the 29th I joined my ship, having been absent from her nine weeks.

On April 2 we sailed with the whole squadron, consisting of the following ships of war:—

Royal Oak .	74 .	Vice-Admiral Arbuthnot.
London .	98 .	Rear-Admiral Graves.[2]

[1] On March 16, off the Chesapeake. The language is exaggerated; for though the action was conducted with excessive stupidity, there was nothing disgraceful in it, in the ordinary acceptation of the term.

[2] Thomas Graves commanded the fleet in the action of September 5, 1781; was second in command under Lord Howe on June 1, 1794, and was made an Irish peer as Lord Graves. Died in 1802.

Bedford	74	Commodore Affleck.[1]
Robust	74	Captain Cosby.[2]
Prudent	64	Captain Burnett.
America	64	Captain Thompson.
Europe	64	Captain Child.
Adamant	50	Captain Johnstone.
Chatham	50	Captain Orde.[3]
Charon	44	Captain Symonds.
Richmond	32	Captain Hudson.
Orpheus[4]	32	Captain Colpoys.
Pearl	32	Captain G. Montagu.[5]
Iris	32	Captain Dawson.
Amphitrite	24	Captain Biggs.
Halifax	14	Captain Bower.

This fleet stood to the southward the two first days, and on the 5th we tacked and stood to the NE; and the 6th we was detached ahead of the squadron to look into the Delaware for the French fleet, which, not finding there, we proceeded again to sea in quest of the admiral. On the 11th we spoke the Chatham, which had also been dispatched in search of the enemy, and who, having taken a prize, had been informed therefrom that she was a

[1] Edmund Affleck, made a baronet for his distinguished share in Rodney's action of April 12, 1782. Died, a rear-admiral, in 1788.

[2] In the action of March 16 the Robust led the line, and sustained the whole brunt of the enemy's fire. Cosby was afterwards commodore and commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean, became a rear-admiral in 1790, was third in command of the fleet under Lord Hood, at Toulon, in 1793, and died, an admiral, in 1808.

[3] Afterwards Sir John Orde, Bart.; died, an admiral, in 1824; now best remembered for his quarrel with Lord St. Vincent.

[4] A new ship, built in 1780 to replace the one burnt at Rhode Island. John Colpoys; died, an admiral and G.C.B., in 1821.

[5] George Montagu; died, an admiral and G.C.B., in 1829.

part of a fleet from St. Domingo bound to Philadelphia under the convoy of the Dean and Confederacy, rebel frigates, and which must be very near us at that period, she having only parted company with them the preceding day.

Captain Orde very prudently proposed to Captain Symonds to cruise off the capes of the Delaware for a few days, to intercept this valuable convoy of the enemy's, which, unfortunately for us, was refused by the latter, who was the senior captain; at the same time, allowing Captain Orde to act himself as he pleased, we made sail and stood to the northward. On the 13th we gave chase to a brig, which we pursued for seven hours and captured, which proved the Peggy, rebel privateer of fourteen guns and seventy men, loaded with rum and indigo, from Carolina bound to Philadelphia. We arrived at New York the 18th with our prize, where we learned that the admiral had not only approved of Captain Orde's conduct, but had dispatched the Roebuck and Orpheus to put themselves under the command of Captain Symonds, which we had prevented by returning into port, which lost us the share of the Confederacy and several of her convoy, who was taken by the above ships.

On the 27th, all the boats of the fleet having assembled by break of day on board the Rainbow, we landed at New York, and commenced a very hot press for six hours, having in that time taken four hundred seamen. The business of this morning furnished us with droll yet distressing scenes—the taking the husband from the arms of his wife in bed, the searching for them when hid beneath the warm clothes, and, the better to prevent delay, taking them off naked, while the frantic partner of his bed, forgetting the delicacy of her sex, pursued us to the doors with shrieks and imprecations, and

exposing their naked persons to the rude view of an unfeeling press gang.

May 12 we fell down to the Hook with the whole squadron, and on the 13th sailed thence for Virginia with a convoy of transports having on board two thousand troops. The 14th we took a brig, by boarding her with the boats of the squadron in a calm, loaded with flour from Philadelphia; and on the 15th, the commander-in-chief having gave up the charge of the convoy to the Charon, we parted company with the admiral and proceeded to the southward, having with us the Roebuck and Assurance.

The 20th we anchored with the convoy off Sewell Point, and remained with the command of the squadron in the Chesapeake until the 30th, when the arrival of the Richmond took that charge from Captain Symonds. During our stay here I twice visited Hampton with flags of truce, and again experienced the most friendly treatment from the Miss Joneses, who filled my boat with green peas and all the rarities of the season, inclusive of several red and mocking-birds, prodigiously fine of the kind.

On June 4 we sailed for New York with a convoy of thirty sail of transports, and on the 10th chased a rebel privateer for eleven hours, which for want of wind in the end escaped us; and on the 11th we arrived at New York, and having watered and refitted the ship, sailed again for Virginia on the 24th. On the 26th of this month we spoke the Solebay and Warwick with a convoy from Europe, and the same day, after a chase of four hours, the Carteret packet from Falmouth, bound to New York, who gave the account of the death of my father.

July 9 we arrived at Virginia, and again joined

the Richmond, Guadeloupe, Fowey, and Vulcan fire-ship. The commander-in-chief, having directed that the post of Portsmouth should be evacuated, and the army removed to York-town, supposed to be much better calculated for the reception of the ships of war, we were employed on this business till July 30, when we sailed from this place with the first division of transports, having on board a part of the army under the command of my Lord Cornwallis, who was himself in the Richmond.

August 2 we landed and took possession of York-town and Gloucester without any opposition, and the transports arrived on the 19th with the second division of the army, having finally quitted Portsmouth. Here commences a period wherein it will be found manifest that the utmost art and skill of one of our first generals in the eyes of Britain could not prevent the impending fall of his brave army, who shortly and very unexpectedly was attacked and reduced to the necessity of surrendering, amidst a long successive chain of victory, and destitute of those material powers of defence which besieged garrisons in general are furnished with. I shall from henceforth during the fatal business of this siege, as briefly as my capacity will enable me, pursue the various manœuvres of the army and navy, by setting down from day to day the employments of both, and overlooking no little circumstance that may tend to the satisfaction or amusement of those hours, which may be, by the smiles of Fortune, dedicated to the perusal of this sad, though accurate, chain of adventures.

August 20.—The Charon's lower deck guns were landed for the defence of Gloucester and York; and herself, with the Richmond, moored in a situation to flank the enemy should they make an attack on the former place.

[illegible]—The army throwing up works, the navy landing their artillery and ammunition, and the transports moored under the town of York.

[illegible]—The boats of the fleet foraging, the army going on with the works.

[illegible]—Detachments of seamen employed with the army in throwing up works.

[illegible]—Foraging parties from the army and navy procuring fresh provisions, and the remainder employed in the works.

[illegible]—The Richmond sailed hence for New York, having the Charon with the command of the squadron.

[illegible]—I was sent to get off a rebel schooner from a small creek, which having accomplished, the commodore sent for a tender, appointing me to the command of her.

[illegible]—The Bonetta sent to anchor on the Shoe, as an advanced ship; the army and navy employed in the works; myself with thirty seamen, fitting out the tender.

[illegible]—The army on the works, the seamen pulling down the houses in the front of York-town, and myself fitting out the tender.

[illegible]—The Guadeloupe sent express to Charlestown, and the Loyalist to the Shoe, to relieve the Bonetta; the army and navy employed as before.

[illegible]—The Guadeloupe and Bonetta returned again into port, having been pursued by a fleet of French ships, consisting of twenty-six sail of the line, besides frigates, fire ships, bombs, and transports, who chased them to the mouth of the harbour, and took the Loyalist within three miles of the town, who engaged their advanced ships until all her masts went by the board. Three ships of the enemy's line anchored at the mouth of the harbour, and the main body of the fleet anchored in Lynnhaven Bay.

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Admiral Graves having appeared off the Capes with about twenty sail of the line, who after some slight skirmish with them, was obliged from their superiority to retreat,[1] and the enemy returned into Lynnhaven Bay, having fallen in with the Richmond and Iris frigates, and took them both.

9th.—I was sent down the river in the tender to reconnoitre the enemy's fleet, and with orders to come occasionally in sight of the garrison, and make such signals as was appointed for that occasion. The French fleet from Rhode Island having now joined, their force by sea consisted of thirty-six sail of the line, besides frigates, fireships, bombs, and transports. On this night I made signal to the garrison of the enemy's remaining at anchor in Lynnhaven Bay, and stood off and on in sight of them all night.

10th.—Made the signal to the garrison of the enemy's movements from Lynnhaven Bay, and soon after of their anchoring at the Shoe.

11th.—Calm, moderate weather; at four o'clock in the morning the enemy began to advance from the Shoe, at which time the schooner lay becalmed about three miles from them, and by bringing with them a sea breeze they came very near me before I could get any wind; at six o'clock one of the headmost ships fired a shot at me, at which time, having received the wind, I cut away my boat and hopped off, with all I could drag on her, and fortunately escaped 'Monsieur.' At noon I made the signal for a further advancement of the enemy, and at four o'clock ran up the harbour like a scalded cock, the French fleet having anchored in the mouth of the

[1] This was the action of September 5, fully discussed in the *Letters of Lord Hood* (N.R.S. vol. iii.), p. 28 *et seq.* The enemy's main fleet did not capture the Iris and Richmond, or return into Lynnhaven Bay till the 10th.

harbour at Too's Marsh. On this evening, the tender becoming useless, I hauled her on shore, and joined the Charon's at the battery.

12*th.*—Two of the enemy's officers were taken when foraging a little below the harbour, and were sent to the Comte de Grasse, who returned in lieu thereof a Lieutenant Conway, of the Cormorant sloop of war, who the enemy had also taken.

13*th.*—General Washington having been suffered to march from the northward unmolested by General Sir H. C——n,[1] and having on this day arrived up the bay with six thousand French and continental troops, a frigate with a detachment of transports was sent from the enemy to bring them down, all of which we had the mortification to see join, and add to the terror of the fatal storm, ready now almost to burst on our heads.

14*th.*—The navy and army employed, without a moment's loss of time, on the works, and the ground in front of the town levelled and cleared of houses, and all other things which might favour the attack of the enemy.

15*th.*—Two ships of the line and a frigate removed about a mile nearer the garrison, and foraging parties sent from them under cover of their guns.

16*th.*—Preparations on all sides going on with

[1] Clinton. Almost every circumstance in the conduct of Clinton and Cornwallis at this time became the subject of very bitter controversy. James was naturally a warm partisan of the latter; but in this particular case it is incorrect to speak of Washington having been 'suffered' to march 'unmolested.' Washington and Rochambeau had carefully kept their intentions and their movements secret, and Clinton had been unable to get any information until they were well on their way towards the south. The detailed account here given of the siege of York-town may be compared with that in Stedman's *History of the American War*, ii. 405 *et seq.*

great expedition and life, and full of the hopes on our side of a relief by the arrival of a British fleet.

17*th.*—A ship of the line advanced from the Shoe and joined those off Too's Marsh; signals constantly making from the French commodore to the Comte de Grasse, and frigates passing and repassing.

18*th.*—The usual business of throwing up works and pulling down houses the employment of this day.

19*th.*—All the negroes, women and children, were turned out of town, that the garrison should not be so soon in want of provisions.

20*th.*—The army employed on the works; the navy cutting down trees for stockading the garrison.

21*st.*—Heavy rain, which greatly retarded the progress of the works. Four fireships being ordered to be fitted with all expedition, and having offered myself a volunteer to command one, with the Lieutenants Conway, Symonds, and a lieutenant of a privateer, we took command accordingly on this night, and consulted with Captain Palmer on the wind and weather, which was found on this night unfavourable. The Vulcan, being an established fireship, and commanded by the above captain, we requested to be put under the direction of that officer, particularly as the vessels we had the command of were patched up and very ill-fitted out, being all of them schooners and sloops; but the commodore, relying too much on the abilities of those who were going on this service, chose rather to let every one of us try his fortune by his own experience. Unfortunate as this turned out, I am convinced this maxim of the commodore's would have done him and his officers credit had lieutenants of the ships of war commanded the whole of them.

22*nd.*—The wind being between the north and

west on this evening, it was judged practicable to attack the advanced ships of the enemy, and, having assembled on board our vessels, we cut our cables at midnight and ran down the river. At two o'clock we came within sight of the enemy, and were advancing, with every probability of success, when from some cause, unaccountable as strange, Mr. Campbell, of the privateer, set fire to his vessel. This proved as unfortunate as dangerous, for the enemy, who was before keeping no look-out, cut their cables, beat to quarters, and, having fired twenty or thirty shot at us, retreated in a precipitate and confused manner. Mr. Conway at this time set fire to his vessel, and soon after Mr. Symonds to his; when, seeing the French launches rowing towards us, and no probability of grappling the enemy, and running a risk of my retreat being cut off, in which case no quarter is gave, I set fire to my vessel, with no other view than to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy. The Vulcan was within her own length of a seventy-four's bow, and must have burnt her had not the light from the first vessel discovered her before she reached that length. However, bad as this sad business ended, we ran two ships of the line on shore, and, if pursued with any enterprising people, in that situation [they] might, in my opinion, have been destroyed at last. We arrived at our tents about six in the morning, with the loss only of one man wounded who was blown up in setting fire to the vessel, and not much satisfied with the expedition, from which we at first promised ourselves honour and promotion.

23*rd.*—The French got off their ships on this morning, and removed at a more respectable distance from us. Guard-boats were sent down the river, rowing all night, the duty becoming extremely severe on the garrison. The enemy began their

march from Williamsburg, and on this day attacked and drove in our picket guards.

24*th.*—The seamen was directed to man the guns in front of the army, where they was reviewed by General Lord Cornwallis.

25*th.*—The seamen went through the exercise of the great guns at their quarters in front of the army before Lord Cornwallis, who was pleased to give us marks of his approbation. It is necessary to observe that the first lieutenant of the Charon commanded a battery in the centre of the town of one twenty-four, two eighteens, and two twelves; myself, three eighteens and four sixes in front of the 17th Regiment, to the right; Lieutenant Symonds, three nines, to the left of mine; Lieutenant Conway, two nines, to the right of all; Mr. Campbell, of the privateer, two twelves, as flanking guns, to the right; the master of the Fowey, two nines, in front of the 43rd Regiment; and all the batteries to the left by seamen from the transports, under the command of the agent; with the sea battery commanded by Mr. Robb, master of the Charon.

26*th.*—The enemy momentarily expected, and the works going on as before; the seamen's tents removed in front of the army alongside our batteries.

27*th.*—The pickets drove in, and the enemy advancing fast in order of battle. The army without the town, his lordship being determined to give the enemy battle.

28*th.*—At noon the enemy appeared in front of our works,[1] in force about twenty-six thousand, extending from right to left of our lines; and a number of them advancing to reconnoitre a ravine in front of my battery, I opened a fire on them until they were dispersed.

[1] 'Having marched from Williamsburg that morning.'—Stedman, ii. 408.

29*th.*—His lordship having in vain offered the enemy battle[1] with his little force of five thousand men on this and the preceding day, and finding them very intent on their determination of attacking him on the left flank with every advantage, he removed into the works on this night, not doubting in the least but the garrison, acting on the defensive, would be enabled to hold out till the much-expected and long-looked-for fleet and army relieved us. A body of the French horse and foot attacked the Legion, who retreated under cover of a battery to the left. Some of the enemy advancing in front of the works, I discharged seven eighteen-pounders at them.

30*th.*—The enemy broke ground and began to throw up two redoubts, moving on the same time in three columns towards our centre, and took possession of two of our redoubts we had evacuated on withdrawing into the town. At eleven o'clock the enemy attacked the right and left of the town with an intention of storming the flanking redoubts, and, after a smart action of two hours, they were repulsed with some loss, retreating into the woods with the utmost precipitance and confusion, our batteries having much galled them.

October 1.—A rebel colonel was taken about noon this day, having been shot through the back by an officer of the Legion. The enemy constantly employed throwing up works, and all our batteries cannonading their working parties, which in great measure impeded their operations, though they were, from their great numbers, carried on with astonishing briskness. At midnight a negro fellow was caught deserting to the enemy, with a letter enclosing a state of the garrison's distress from a

[1] 'The enemy appeared disposed to proceed with great circumspection.'—Stedman, ii. 409.

merchant in the town, who was immediately taken into custody.

2nd.—A constant and heavy cannonade kept up all day on the enemy's working parties; and considerable numbers employed completing the stockade round the town and forming lines of communication between the different redoubts and the hornwork, while the enemy was intent on completing their first parallel, which was now in great forwardness.

3rd.—The enemy chiefly employed in bringing up their artillery under cover of their works and forming the first parallel. The garrison keeping on an incessant fire night and day, and throwing up works with all the men that could be spared from quarters.

4th.—A flag came in on this morning from the enemy, who as before were employed on their works; and we kept up as heavy a fire on them as our want of ammunition would allow.

5th.—The French hoisted five stand of colours on their works, and the rebel flag was also displayed before the garrison, whose sanguine expectations of a relief had taught us to look for the hour that was to enable us to march out and beat the enemy, who was making such rapid approaches towards an attack.

6th.—The first parallel of the enemy was completed on this day, which extended from the centre to the left at a distance of six hundred yards; our fire continued as usual.

7th.—The enemy, having completed their first parallel, was employed in mounting their heavy artillery and furnishing their batteries with a quantity of ammunition. The garrison throwing up traverses to defend the works.

8th.—The enemy having learned from one of our deserters the strength and position of our pickets

to the left, made an attack on them about midnight and drove them into the works; some time after which a few of them came to the ditch of the horn-work and persuaded the officers they were deserters, who having got on the works to show them the way in, was fired at and two of the officers of the 43rd killed.

9th.—The enemy having completed their works and mounted their cannon, their batteries opened on the evening of this day; to the right, consisting of eight twenty-four pounders, and to the left, four twenty-four pounders, and two of eighteen. The cannonade continued day and night with great vigour, and several shot having struck the Charon and Guadeloupe, both ships were removed further down the river. It will be impossible to account for the number of killed and wounded in each day's action; I therefore must refer that for the end of the siege, and content myself with observing that the slaughter was great, and that among the killed on this day was the commissary general, who with some other officers was killed at dinner.

10th.—The enemy having opened fresh batteries on this day, and also commenced an additional fire on the Charon with red-hot shot, she was set on fire at half-past six o'clock in three different places, and in a few minutes in flames from the hold to the mast-heads. From our being quartered at the guns in front of the army, that timely assistance could not be given her which was necessary to extinguish the fire, and she broke adrift from her moorings and drove on board a transport to which she also set fire, and they both grounded on the Gloucester side, where they burnt to the water's edge. The loss of our things in the Charon are so very trivial when compared to the more distressing scenes of the garrison, that I shall say no more on this head, than that we saw with in-

finite concern one of the finest ships in the navy of her rate totally destroyed on this day.

On this evening, the enemy, having mounted some more of their artillery, totally silenced No. 5 battery, commanded by the first lieutenant of the Charon, who with his men was obliged to quit it, the shot and shell having dismounted his guns and tore up his platforms. At ten o'clock a general attack was made[1] from the centre to the left, under cover of their cannon, and the enemy again repulsed. The Hessians gave way twice in front of my works on this night; and the cannonade continued with a degree of warmth seldom equalled and not to be described. The remainder of the night passed in a dreadful slaughter, and we were occasionally employed in throwing up the works the enemy knocked down. Several parts of the garrison was in flames on this night, and the whole discovered a view awful and tremendous.

11*th*.—I now want words to express the dreadful situation of the garrison, for it is scarcely possible to describe the calamitous condition we were in during the remainder of the siege. The enemy on this evening began their second parallel, having advanced three hundred yards nearer to us; their fire continued then incessant from heavy artillery and mortars, and we opened fresh embrasures to flank the enemy's works, keeping up a constant fire with all the howitzers and small mortars then in the garrison. Upwards of a thousand shells was thrown into the works on this night, and every spot became alike dangerous. The noise and thundering of the cannon, the distressing cries of the wounded, and the lamentable sufferings of the inhabitants, whose dwellings were chiefly in flames, added to the restless fatigues

[1] *Sc.* by the enemy.

of the duty, must inevitably fill every mind with pity and compassion who are possessed of any feelings for their fellow creatures.

Yet amidst all this dire destruction no murmuring was heard, no wish to give up the town while the most distant hope was in view of being relieved. On the contrary, this very distinguished little army, taking example from their chief, went through the business of the siege with a perfect undaunted resolution, and hourly discovered proofs of their attachment to the general, who had so often led them to the field with success.

On this night the enemy burnt several transports with red-hot shot and sunk two others, from a battery to the left. The few people in the garrison who were idle spectators of the carnage and devastation of the siege were now living in holes under the cliffs, and dispersed along the shore by the river side, where however they were not unacquainted with its fatal consequences, hundreds having been killed in that situation.

12*th*.—At eight o'clock this morning the enemy sunk one of the fireships from an additional battery, which kept up a heavy and constant cannonade all the day at the shipping, most of which was sunk for the defence of the town against an attack from the sea. At nine o'clock the chief officers of the artillery waited on the commodore from Lord Cornwallis with directions that the lieutenants of the navy, with their men, should move on from the right into the hornwork on the left, the transports' men having quitted their quarters and left it exposed to a very heavy fire from the batteries of the enemy, who was hourly expected to storm the works.

Desirous of recommending myself to his lordship, I immediately offered myself a volunteer to work this battery, and set off for it accordingly with

a midshipman and thirty-six seamen, to be relieved in eight hours by the first lieutenant. In fifty-two minutes after my arrival in the hornwork the enemy silenced the three left guns by closing the embrasures, shortly after which they dismounted a twelve-pounder, knocked off the muzzles of two eighteens, and for the last hour and half left me with one eighteen-pounder with a part of its muzzle also shot away, with which I kept up a fire till it was also rendered useless. At six o'clock in the evening, the first lieutenant having been sent to relieve me, a shell burst between us and gave me a contusion in my face and right leg, with which I conceived myself very fortunate, having during my stay in the works had nine men killed, twenty-seven wounded, eight of which died ere they was removed, and most of the wounded had lost an arm or leg, and some both. In short, myself and the midshipman, both wounded, were the only two that returned out of thirty-six, having stood a close cannonade with the enemy for eight hours, who had ninety-seven pieces of heavy cannon playing on us all that time. I quitted the works about a quarter after six, having received the thanks of Lord Cornwallis, who was in the redoubt during the greatest part of the time.

13*th*.—The besiegers having greatly increased their cannon and mortars on the works of their second parallel, and the garrison becoming every hour more defenceless from the fire thereof, it was now we began to despair of any relief capable of saving the garrison from a surrender, though all the expresses from the commander-in-chief flattered us with their speedy arrival. At five this evening I again quitted my battery to the right and commanded two eighteen-pounders to the left; with which having kept a constant fire all night, towards

the morning the battery was masked and we returned to our own works.

14*th.*—Our works having become too feeble to resist the force of the enemy's heavy artillery, and as also, from the want of ammunition, we could not to any degree impede their operations, considerable breaches were made in our strongest batteries and redoubts, and the whole became so very weak and defenceless that they were scarcely tenable. On this morning they sunk another fireship and two transports, and at seven in the evening attempted to storm the flanking redoubt to the right, and was repulsed with great loss. At nine o'clock they stormed from right to left with seventeen thousand men, advancing with drums beating and loud huzzas, when the whole garrison was a scene of fire throughout the lines, which, added to the thunder of the heavy artillery and the blaze of musketry from so prodigious an army within a few yards of each other, opened to view a scene which will ever make an impression on my mind and which I cannot attempt to describe. In this storm the enemy carried two of our flanking redoubts to the left which had hitherto retarded their approaches, and most of the unhappy fellows [were] put to the bayonet, as usual in cases of storms.

15*th.*—The enemy lost no time in throwing up a line of communication between the two flanking redoubts, which they perfected before daylight, and from which they could now rake the whole garrison. The fire continued as usual without intermission.

16*th.*—At half-past four in the morning the general directed a sortie to be made from the garrison, consisting of about three hundred and fifty men from the Guards, Light Infantry, and 80th Regiment; and, having sallied out, spiked eleven of the enemy's guns and bayoneted in five minutes

upwards of a hundred French troops, returned in that time to the works with the loss of twelve killed and wounded. At midnight the lines were quitted by the army, which embarked in boats [to cross] to Gloucester, leaving the navy at their batteries keeping up a heavy fire to deceive the enemy; but before the whole had effected passing the river, a violent storm of wind and rain arose and prevented his lordship getting over the remainder of his army, and driving two boats full of soldiers down the river, where they were made prisoners by the enemy. The remaining few was sent again to join us and defend the works, and the night passed as usual with a heavy cannonade, and with the addition of a dreadful storm.

17*th.*—It was noon on this day before we could get back the part of the army which had crossed the river; and, seeing at last that the hour was come when we were obliged to sue for terms to our enemy, a flag of truce was sent them for that purpose; which proposals being peremptorily refused us, we again commenced hostilities, and the fire on both sides increased in proportion to our abilities.

18*th.*—This morning the fire continued as before, and at four o'clock in the afternoon we sent a second flag with less favourable proposals, and which produced a cessation of arms for four hours, which was afterwards increased to the 19th.

19*th.*—Seeing that the enemy was determined to confine us to such terms as they alone chose to grant, and that we had not as yet experienced the fire of the flanking redoubts with a number of pieces of heavy artillery then ready to open on us, and finding that the garrison was reduced to about three thousand effective men in want of both provision and ammunition, his lordship thought it, as he himself expresses, necessary to save the lives of the

few brave men then left in the garrison, and accordingly at noon we surrendered prisoners of war to the United States of America, the navy only excepted, who became prisoners to the Comte de Grasse. At one o'clock a regiment of American troops, followed by another of French, took possession of the works with drums beating and colours flying; the British flag was struck, and the American one displayed on our works. At three o'clock the garrison marched out with drums beating and colours cased to the enemy's lines, where, having grounded their arms, they returned again into the town; the enemy at the same time marched in and took possession of the garrison.

20*th*.—The French ships of war came up the harbour, and we remained as before.

21*st*.—The British army marched off into the country, and the seamen still remaining in the garrison.

22*nd*.—Paroles of honour granted to the navy officers, who were to go to Europe in flags of truce with all the seamen and marines.[1]

Having thus far followed the manœuvres of the garrison from day to day, as well as my knowledge of the circumstances would permit me, I shall now make some few remarks on the number of the killed and wounded, and the respect and attention of the French troops towards the British prisoners.

On a correct and fair muster of the garrison on the day we surrendered, we was unable to march out more than two thousand five hundred men, and found we had lost in killed and wounded upwards of a thousand, and in sickness four hundred and fifty; by which calculation we had about a hundred and ten killed and wounded every day after the enemy opened

[1] See Appendix B.

their batteries. The remainder of the army was at Gloucester on the other side of the river, where they were stationed to defend the works on that side. The ruined situation of this little spot whereon we fought, and whose extent did not exceed half a mile, can, I should suppose, be very readily conceived from the foregoing account of the action, and I shall only observe that the ground was, with the shot and shells, a just resemblance of a ploughed field.

Happy am I to give a very different account of the French civility and humanity than the one I was obliged to mention when a prisoner with them in St. Domingo; and I cannot do it more fully than by saying it was in every particular the very reverse to the savage treatment of that island; not only happy in rendering us every attention, and being truly delicate in their behaviour towards us, but they gave us a captain's guard of grenadiers to protect us from the insolence and abuse of the American soldiers, who otherwise would have robbed us of the few things we had left at the end of the siege.

The business of the siege being over, and nothing to keep the effects of damps and colds from our constitution, [sickness] which before, from great exercise and exertions, had no opportunity of showing itself, began now to spread itself around our tents in intermitting fevers, and few I believe, if any, escaped this disorder. On the 24th I was taken extremely ill and continued so for some weeks after I quitted Virginia; and on the 27th, Lieutenant Conway, who I have before mentioned in this journal, and then living with me in the same tent, died about midnight; no person but himself and me being then in the tent.

It is now come to the time for me to show what advantages I acquired from the acquaintance I cultivated on the different expeditions I was sent in Virginia; and I shall begin by observing that Mr.

Jones's house was only seven miles from the place we surrendered, and no sooner did he and his good family learn we were defeated, than he sent to know how he could serve me, and that if I was to remain a prisoner in America, he would request General Washington to let me be on my parole at his house, observing at the same time that money or anything he had was at my service. Colonel Mathews, who I had also an opportunity of showing civility to on an occasion relative to his son, came and waited on me with offers of money, horses and servants; and a French officer, who we took in the Peggy privateer when we went in search of the French fleet, was attentive and civil to the Charon's in general, offering us every assistance; and, lastly, Monsieur Clonard, who commanded the Comte D'Artois which we took off Ireland with the Bienfaisant, commanded a French ship of war in the French fleet, and showed us every mark of esteem and politeness. In short, they discovered in general a conduct which will ever do them the highest honour, and authorise them to expect the utmost attention from every British subject.

The navy being ordered to proceed to England, and ships being fitted out for the purpose of carrying them, they embarked on board them [on] November 2; but as my state of health would not permit me to undertake so long a voyage, I requested permission of the commodore and the Comte de Grasse to go to New York; which being granted, and Lord Cornwallis offering me a passage, I embarked with his lordship, Colonel Tarleton, and thirty officers more of the army, and sailed on the 3rd of this month for New York, where we arrived on the 18th, after a most boisterous passage, and having been very near lost on the Jersey shore.

The commander-in-chief, having allowed me to

sail for Europe as soon as my health would permit, I took a passage from thence in a snow bound to Bideford, and on December 9 quitted New York under convoy of his Majesty's ships Robust and Janus. The fleet having anchored at Sandy Hook, it was the 15th before we finally left America, and on the 18th was met with by a heavy gale of wind which separated the whole convoy, and obliged the Robust and Janus to bear up for the West Indies: a circumstance publicly accounted for in the papers and needing no observations of mine. Having parted from the fleet we pursued our course home, bringing a gale of wind with us all the passage, and never setting any more sail than a foresail and main topsail.

On January 4 [1782], after a passage of twenty-two days only, we made the island of Lundy, and on the 5th put into Tenby in Wales, where we continued until the 11th when we again put to sea, but another gale overtaking us we bore up for Ilfracombe, from which taking chaise, I set off for Bideford, where remaining until February 2, I left that town, and on the 4th arrived at Falmouth, from which I had been only, this time, two years.

Here commences the only period wherein I ever knew an idle life, or where I believe I did not earn the pay allowed me by his Majesty; and as during the three months I was on shore, I found no circumstance worthy a place in my journal, I shall fill up the vacant time with observing that on February 14 I visited London, and appeared as an evidence in a trial, before my Lord Mansfield, against the under-writers concerning the loss of the St. Domingo's cargo in the Leviathan; and in the beginning of March, having been exchanged and released from my parole, I returned to Falmouth, where I remained in a state of inaction until June

4, when, from application, I was appointed second lieutenant of his Majesty's ship Aurora, Captain George Campbell,[1] a cruiser in the Channel, stationed at Falmouth. I cannot promise myself with the hopes of encountering the difficulties of hard service in the Aurora, as [neither] her station nor situation will admit of anything of the kind; and consequently my time will be employed here to very little better advantage than when on board a ship in profound peace, where the usual manœuvres of a king's ship relax in proportion to the difficulty and consequence of the service. I shall therefore rub on with the little trivial circumstances of our cruises, merely to keep up a regularity of time in my journal, and with the hopes of arriving again to that period which will enable me to add, with my usual satisfaction and delight, a future series of actions and exploits more consequential in their nature, more conducive to promotion and happiness, and equally exempt from the fatal consequences that attend them in general.

On the day of my joining this ship in Falmouth harbour the ship's company was taken ill of the then reigning and fashionable disorder, the influenza, which retarded our leaving the harbour till June 23, during which time the rigging was overhauled. On June 24, having carried away our main topmast, we bore away for St. Mary's in Scilly, where, having replaced our loss, we again sailed thence the following morning, and for seven days cruised off and on in the Lat. 46° 30′ N, and about fifty leagues to the westward of Scilly, in hopes of falling in with a struggling St. Domingo-man. Being unfortunate in this scheme, we returned to our station off Penzance.

[1] Rear-admiral and second in command of the fleet off Toulon, under Nelson, in 1803–4; died, an admiral and G.C.B., in 1821.

On July 1 we anchored in Mount's Bay. The 3rd we sailed again to the westward in quest of a privateer, which not falling in with, we bore up for St. Ives for further information, and sailed again from thence the following day. July 9 we chased a cutter all night, and on the 10th put into Milford in Wales, where we continued till the 17th, having visited the adjacent towns. On the 19th we again put into St. Ives; and the 21st off the Land's End, chased a privateer brig sixteen hours without success. The 21st we anchored under Helston in a gale of wind at NW; and on the 23rd, off the Lizard, spoke his Majesty's ships Romney and Mediator, and the same evening anchored in Falmouth. On the 29th we sailed hence with two tin ships for the Downs, where we arrived on August 1, and from which we again sailed on the 12th. The 13th at midnight, when abreast of Beachy Head, a sudden gust of wind from the NW obliged us to clew all up and clap the ship before it; at two o'clock we struck topgallant yards and masts, and scudded under the foresail the remainder of the night, the wind having shifted to the northward. On the 14th we put into Portsmouth, and furnished ourselves with such topmasts, yards, &c. as we stood in want of, and where the ship's company were paid six months' pay.

On August 30, about ten in the morning, his Majesty's ship Royal George, of one hundred and ten guns, being on the careen, was by some unaccountable misfortune upset and totally lost at her moorings at Spithead, and about seven hundred souls drowned in her, among which was two hundred and seventy women. This business having been variously accounted for, and often described by more able hands than myself, I shall add only that, from seeing the accident happen, I was enabled to be on the spot with the Aurora's boats in three

minutes; but the situation of the ship, the confusion occasioned by the accident, and the distressing circumstances of the scene prevented the boats which attended from saving more than three hundred out of a thousand. Among the drowned was Admiral Kempenfelt, two lieutenants, major of marines, master, surgeon, boatswain, &c. &c. &c.

On September 1 we left Spithead, and on the 3rd, off Portland, in a calm, boarded and took a lugger smuggler loaded with gin and tea; and on the 4th arrived with the prize at Falmouth. On the 10th we again left this harbour and on the 11th anchored in Mount's Bay, and a few hours after weighed and came to sail in company with the Racehorse and Satisfaction, sloops of war, and the Pilot cutter, with a convoy bound to Bristol, which fleet had been chased into Penzance by two ships, supposed to be an enemy. The 11th sent the cutter in chase of a brig which she retook, loaded with lead, having been taken by a Dutch privateer. On the 14th, having seen the convoy as high up as the island of Lundy, parted from them and bore away down Channel. The 15th, meeting with extreme bad weather, we put into St. Ives, and the 16th sailed again from thence for Falmouth, where, after splitting some sails and experiencing some very disagreeable and uncomfortable weather, we arrived on the 18th instant.

October 4 we sailed again from Falmouth for Mount's Bay, where, taking under convoy four brigs, two sloops and a schooner, we again put to sea on the 10th, and on the 12th, meeting with a gale of wind, put into Plymouth Sound, where on the 18th our convoy was increased to eighty-three sail; and with which we proceeded to the Downs, where we arrived on the 20th, having on our passage retaken a brig from Swansea loaded with coals, and having

a gale of wind all the way, and without ever setting an inch of sail. On October 27 sailed from the Downs with the Kite cutter and a convoy for Portsmouth. On the 28th gave chase to a cutter for six hours and lost her in the night. The 29th met with a prodigious heavy gale of wind at SW, which obliged us to carry a pair of courses to keep the ship clear of the Rip-raps, which shoal was under our lee all night, and with which we was for some hours in danger of going on shore; at midnight one of the forecastle men was knocked overboard by the splitting of the fore topmast staysail and was drowned, we being unable to give him, in so heavy a gale, any assistance.

The 30th, we anchored under Dungeness, and on the same evening weighed and again put to sea. On the 31st, met another very heavy gale of wind and was again in great danger, being drove in the night near the Rip-raps a second time. On this night, when going to relieve the watch at twelve o'clock, the hold being carelessly opened to get at some peas and no light being left at the hatchway, I had a most wonderful fall from the hatchway into the hold on the casks, where I remained speechless a few minutes, having been stunned with a blow on my head, and having considerably torn and bruised my back, my left arm and right leg, together with several slight bruises too ridiculous to mention. The doctor having in a few days got me again on my legs, I have thought this among the most miraculous escapes of my peregrinations at sea.

November 1, the weather continuing to blow a heavy gale, we bore away for the Downs, where we arrived that evening. About midnight a large ship drove past us with signals of distress and was lost on the South Foreland. At three o'clock let go the small bower anchor, and veered away on both

cables. The 2nd, moderate weather, hove up the small bower anchor. The 3rd, came on another very heavy gale of wind at SW; struck yards and topmasts, let go another anchor, and veered away on both cables; about midnight a large brig foundered at her anchor, and another went on shore on the Goodwin Sands, where for some time she continued making signals of distress, and at last disappeared. At two in the morning a ship drove by us calling for assistance, with her masts gone, which proved after to be his Majesty's sloop Lisburne. A large ship had driven on board her; she was brought up not far from the entrance of the Gulls. At nine in the morning we parted our best bower cable, which with the anchor we lost; and on the 4th, the weather becoming moderate, we got up yards and topmasts and prepared again for sea. At six this evening weighed and sailed from the Downs, and at ten in the night anchored under Dungeness. At four in the morning, a gale coming on at SSE, we was obliged to weigh, and with some difficulty got clear of Dungeness Point; at eleven o'clock on the night of the 6th, we very nearly ran on board a dogger when scudding in a gale of wind; and on the 7th anchored in Plymouth Sound; from thence on the 9th ran into Hamoaze.

November 10, unrigged the ship and prepared for docking. The 11th, 12th, and 13th employed fitting new rigging. The 14th attended the punishment of a man belonging to the Artois, who was sentenced to receive three hundred lashes; the 15th embarked the North Devon militia in boats and landed them at Mutton Cove, from which they marched into barracks. The 16th employed on the rigging of the ship and lifting our masts to examine them. The 17th, 18th, 19th preparing for dock, by getting out the ground tier and ballast. The

24th docked, and on the 25th began to rig, and having an additional number of seamen sent us by the admiral, we completed the ship for sea by the 28th, though we had neither masts nor any ballast in when we began. The 29th, sailed from Hamoaze, and in the Sound were joined by his Majesty's sloops Fairy and Cormorant, when we proceeded off the Land's End in quest of some privateers; but not having been fortunate enough to fall in with them, and a heavy gale of wind springing up at SW, on December 6, we dispatched the two sloops to Plymouth and returned ourselves to our station at Falmouth.

Here we continued till the 10th, when we put to sea in quest of a privateer, and chased her within three leagues of the French coast, but night and thick weather coming on we lost her and again returned to Falmouth. The 14th we sailed hence and cruised off the Lizard till the 18th; and on the 30th proceeded from Falmouth to Spithead, where, on January 15 [1783], Captain Campbell changed from the Aurora into the Orpheus, with Captain Richard Dacres, as did the first lieutenant with his brother officer.

The business of exchanging ships having been finally settled, we sailed hence for Plymouth on the 17th instant, and anchored in the Sound on the 18th. The 20th we left Plymouth; and on the 21st arrived at Falmouth, and again put to sea on February 4, and cruised off the Land's End till hostilities ceased, when we returned to Falmouth, where we continued till the middle of April, when we repaired to Portsmouth, and there on May 12 was paid off, and the ship laid up in ordinary.

As usual on such an occasion we departed hence for our several homes, and to please my inclination I purchased a boat of about six tons burden, and in her proceeded to Falmouth. I left Portsmouth on the 12th at noon, and that night at ten o'clock came

to anchor off Yarmouth; at one in the morning I weighed with the wind at south and ran through the Needles. The 13th, for the most part it was calm, when I remained on the flood tides at anchor; the 14th at 10 P.M. I passed Portland between the Race and the land, and at 4 A.M. on the 15th came to an anchor three leagues to the westward of Portland; at six, the wind freshened up and blew hard at SW with a very thick fog, when I weighed and stood to the westward; at ten the wind shifted to WbN, and blew hard with squalls of wind and rain, during which time I stood to the SW; at noon there being no hopes of the weather shifting, I stood in shore to the northward, and at 6 P.M. saw the land about Lyme. All this night and the 16th I stood to the westward, the wind having shifted to the NW. The 17th I anchored to the eastward of the Start in All Sands Bay, where I continued till the following day, and sailed with the wind at west; the 19th I passed Plymouth, and on the 20th at 8 A.M. arrived at Falmouth, or rather at Swan Pool, as it blew so hard a gale I could not get into the harbour.

Thus have I finished with as much correctness as I possibly could my servitude in the navy, from my first setting off to the conclusion of the late war, wherein it will be found I have seen some service, gone through many hazardous battles and skirmishes, and been fortunate in all cases but that of promotion; which I now set down as certainly at an end as the late unsuccessful and inglorious war.

The war being hushed, and battles now no more,
I'll write no journal whilst I stay on shore,
But let my book in silence mould away,
Until again I'm called to serve at sea.
My friends, for whose perusal I wrote this,
Be not severe, there's many things amiss.
As that's confessed, no critic's skill I fear,
Truth is my only claim, and that is here.

PART II

Once more I tread the deck and quit the shore
To add fresh subject to my little store,
In hopes hereafter to enjoy my ease,
And snug in cottage spend my latter days;
That so, when round my hearth supremely blest
With wife and children, friends and all the rest,
I read my book, and count my voyages o'er,
They thank the gods that we shall part no more.

Being again about to sally out in the line of my profession as a sailor, it will be necessary, in some measure, to give an account of the manner I passed the interval of time between my being paid off in his Majesty's ship Aurora in 1783, and my again quitting England in 1787. On my return to Falmouth from Portsmouth in May 1783, I found it necessary to put myself in some way of providing for my family, as the half-pay of a lieutenant, joined to the little I had reserved at the conclusion of the war, was found inadequate to answer that purpose; to which end I formed the resolution of continuing a brewhouse which had been carried on by my father and mother to supply the king's ships and merchant vessels for many years, and which business was just now vacant by their death but a few weeks before; and I more readily embarked in this undertaking as every utensil was in their place and the wheels had not ceased to work when I arrived on the spot.

From a chain of unfortunate events as truly dis-

tressing as they were singular, my father died upwards of fifteen hundred pounds in debt, which, on being made acquainted with, I paid in the course of a few months out of about two thousand pounds I had reserved at the close of the late war, pleasing myself with having it in my power to pay this last and only act of gratitude to the memory of a deceased invaluable friend and father. Having by this step prevented my feelings being hurt by ungenerous and low remarks and reflections from the creditors of my father, another difficulty, or, I may say rather, too delicate a notion, presented itself in my way, which was the being at the head of a brewery when I should almost every day stand a chance of being visited by some one or other of my brother officers in the navy.

To remove in some degree the absurdity of this notion, I engaged a Mr. James Bonython, of Cornwall, to divide the business with me, on his conducting it under the firm of 'Bonython & Co.'; but whether our ignorance of the business, our want of capital to carry it on with more spirit, and our having several opponents in the neighbourhood, was alone the cause of our want of success, I will not, cannot pretend to say; but thus far, in justice to my worthy friend Bonython as well as myself, I will venture to affirm that the strictest attention was paid to it by us both, though unable to produce that success we had promised ourselves, and had a right to expect.

Seeing, therefore, that I had, to use a term of my profession, 'stern way,' I judged it prudent as well as necessary to withdraw myself from business, that while an opportunity offered I might retreat with some degree of propriety. I accordingly, in the month of September 1785, communicated my resolution to Bonython of retiring into the country

on the little I could scrape together after our matters was settled, and I took a small thatched cottage in the neighbourhood for that purpose, leaving Bonython to adjust a settlement and collect our debts; and previous thereto I had let my house at one hundred pounds per annum, and sold my utensils and stock-in-trade to the gentleman who had taken the house. Accordingly, on September 29, 1785, I removed with my family and furniture to Gwarder, where I confess I promised myself an infinity of happiness from the certainty of having almost every necessary of life, and the supposition of having better than two hundred a year to supply myself with every requisite, while my views and expectations were confined to a degree of mediocrity.

But, alas! fortune had decreed that ease and contentment, peace and happiness, should not so very suddenly fall to my lot; and although that goddess had positive proofs of my being able to smile at misfortune, in many instances before recited, and that I was disposed to show a perfect resignation to every calamity that might attend me through life, much more to resolve that no deprivation of pecuniary matters should ever rob me of those valuable spirits which providence had so abundantly blessed me with; I say notwithstanding fortune had thus far tried my patience, and put my resolution to the test by various acts of disappointment and innumerable losses and misfortunes, yet, far from thinking I had received a sufficiency of these kinds of favours from her, she now formed the most cruel determination of putting me to the [severest] trial that she could possibly invent, by causing myself and partner, at the moment we were about to depart from business, to fall a prey to the base actions of a designing man whose proceedings drew after him the ruin of numbers.

To describe particulars cannot produce the least imaginary good; it may wound the feelings of others, but cannot add one single jot to our relief. With those considerations I shall pass over his name with silence and leave him to his own unhappy reflections. Suffice it, therefore, to say that, having gave seven hundred and thirty pounds cash to a man in Falmouth for his bills on London, they all returned the following week protested, and he himself had withdrawn from the eye of public curiosity. Such a sum to respectable mercantile men might have much effect when suddenly demanded, as they are generally accompanied with every private demand, independent of the loss. How much more so must we have felt it who were before struggling hard to retreat with honour, and now had instantly demands on us to the amount of two thousand three hundred and seventy-five pounds.

The consequences arising from this stroke are obvious, and need but little comment of mine to explain how far they must have affected us.

> Creditors rushed on, old friends looked shy;
> Nay some did more: they joined the 'hue and cry.'

But with pleasure, however, I can add, their ungenerous efforts of reducing me to the awful necessity of bankruptcy failed in every point, and though the demand on us was what I have before explained, yet by my mortgaging my house and even pews in the church, selling my furniture, and even the beds we lay on, horses, cows, boats, &c. &c., and in short whatever my partner was also possessed of, we so far fended off the blow as to pay seventeen hundred pounds of it the first month; the remaining sum was left as a debt to our agents, Messrs. Clementson and Denton, of London, who in every stage of this unfortunate business acted as becoming the charac-

ters of valuable friends. By this step of theirs we were enabled to defy the threats of others, all of whom had been by this time paid.

But ere I take leave of this subject I must not omit doing justice to some few friends who in the midst of this critical period held forth their hands to save the little that remained from the sad wreck of a very small fortune, which had been collected at the hazard of my life, and must now have fell a prey to the unfriendly attack of an ungrateful, despicable few had not their kind interference prevented it. I say ungrateful, because I had but two years before strained every nerve to discharge my father's debts to them, which they otherwise must have totally lost, and which more than trebled my debts to them, and which poor paltry sums, for I must remark they did not—one or two of them—amount above thirty pounds, they would not indulge me with a week to pay.

But when I take my leave of them, and that pretended friendship which some of them had shown me when I had no occasion to solicit their aid or assistance, it will be necessary as well as incumbent on me to say that the kindness of Mr. Pender in supplying our wants while we laboured under so many at Gwarder; the friendship of Messrs. Foxes in advancing me the sum of one hundred pounds to pay off a part of the mortgage on the house when precipitately demanded by the mortgagee; the particular goodness and attention of Messrs. Pearse, Snell and Samuel Symons, in being bound for me in that sum; and, to conclude, the extraordinary kindness and friendly readiness of Messrs. St. Aubyn, Falck, Dawson, Pyke and Mankin, in contributing their assistance on the same occasion, deserves my warmest and most grateful acknowledgments, which I trust will never cease to flow from my heart, nor

be blotted from my remembrance, while 'tis possible for my memory to contain the action, or heaven permits me to hold a habitation in the same globe with such truly valuable friends.

Reduced by those misfortunes to the necessity of putting myself in some channel of retrieving my losses and providing for my family, the road through which I was to accomplish this business was the next serious consideration; and as it was impossible to do it, at any rate, in the navy in time of peace, no other chance but the merchant service presented itself to my view; and even here I had a right to expect almost insuperable difficulties, for I well knew the implacable dislike that most mercantile people had towards officers who had served all their time in the navy, not to mention the absurdity of the notion they possessed of our being unable to give them that satisfaction which they relied upon other masters to ensure them to a certainty. But if I indulge in the hope of being an instance to the contrary, I trust it will not be considered an act of ostentation, as the moment that I write this I can only form the resolution of attempting it by the most rigid attention to the service of my employers.

However, that as little time as possible may be taken up in the preamble to my outset, it will be sufficient to say that after six months' close application to the matter, I should have even then been obliged to have quitted the pursuit had it not been for the friendship of Sir Peter Parker, Sir Nich. Nugent, the Hon. Captain J. Luttrell Olmius, Mr. Ellis, Mr. Hudson, Captain Smith, and several other friends, most of whom purchased a part of the ship for me; but in a very particular manner am I obliged and indebted to Captain John Sperling, his father and family, of Dynes Hall in Essex, for their friendship, who with his acquaintance Mr.

Marriott of the same county, purchased three-sixteenths of her, and took a vast deal of pains to procure me several other friends. This acknowledgment brings me, after a deal of prolixity, much nearer to the point, by observing that on September 13, 1787, I took command of the Mercury in London river, burthen about 220 tons measurement, built at Topsham in the county of Devon, in the year 1785, under the direction of Messrs. Paul Le Mesurier and Co., merchants of London, who were appointed to superintend the accounts as ship's husbands; and having put her into dock, had her new sheathed and in every respect well fitted for sea, I dropped down to Deptford on October 9, 1787, to receive a cargo of provisions we had engaged with government to carry for them to Gibraltar.

Here I must make a small digression by observing that the disputes which subsisted at this period in the Republic of the United Provinces of Holland, and which in its consequences seemed likely to disturb the peace of Great Britain, had very nearly been the cause of my experiencing fresh and unexpected difficulties and disappointments, by producing an order from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty for all officers on leave of absence to return immediately and give in their names to the Board. Here another very puzzling circumstance occurred; for by this time I had furnished myself and cabin with every necessary article for a long voyage, and which took no very inconsiderable sum; nevertheless I felt myself under the necessity of offering my service, independent of being actuated by principles which I may venture to affirm without a blush had governed my conduct in general; nor could I bear the reflection of serving in any other line than the navy in time of war, as I must confess

ingenuously that I shall ever have a strong partiality for that service, which must undoubtedly stand confessedly the first in the world.

I therefore immediately wrote a letter to their lordships and offered my services even at the hazard of almost irreparable ruin, for had this opportunity of establishing myself in the merchant service escaped me, 'tis more than probable that I should never again have succeeded in that line. But I trusted that should a war take place, it would be of duration enough for me to collect an easy independence, and I must say that, however likely the consequences were to produce difficulty, I did not feel unhappy in being directed by their lordships, through Admiral Gower,[1] at that time one of the Board, and with whom I had a conference on the subject, to give up the command of the Mercury and hold myself in readiness to receive an appointment as a lieutenant in a king's ship. No sooner were those orders communicated to me than I instantly removed my things from the Mercury, and requested the ship's husbands to appoint another commander to her. For some three or four weeks war appeared inevitable, and I was so far convinced of the certainty thereof that I rigged myself with uniforms and other essential and necessary articles; but at the expiration of this time matters put on a very different aspect and all was suddenly rumoured to be a profound peace, though not yet officially announced by his Majesty's ministers.

In this situation, more critical than ever, no time was to be lost; the ship though ready for sea very fortunately had not sailed, and I plainly perceived a few hours employed to advantage might again

[1] Rear-Admiral John Leveson Gower. He was first captain of the Victory with Lord Howe at the relief of Gibraltar in 1782; died in 1792.

establish me in the command of the Mercury. On the morning, therefore, of November 1, I waited on Lord Howe[1] and requested an audience with his lordship, which he as readily granted as it was asked; and having set before him my real situation, and explained to him how much I should be embarrassed by not having his permission to re-establish myself in the merchant service, he assured me that although matters were not so far adjusted as to authorise him to give me leave of absence, yet in consideration of my very singular dilemma, he would go so far as to say that he had no reason to think my services would be called for during the time I was prosecuting a voyage to Jamaica; but as to granting me official leave, it was what he was under the necessity of putting a positive negation on.

With this hint I wished his lordship a good morning, and thanked him for the honour he had conferred on me by explaining so much to me on the occasion, and immediately recovered the command of my ship without any further inconvenience than the loss of some pay for her, and the sinking a few pounds in purchasing uniforms which now became useless.

The ship, as I before observed, being now ready for sea, and manned with seventeen hands including the officers, which among the latter was Lieutenant Loten of the royal navy as chief mate, and Mr. Bunster of Flushing, who had been many years master of a vessel, as second, nothing but the orders of the Victualling Board were wanting to enable me to sail. I therefore directed the chief mate to move the ship to Blackwall, which was done on November 5, and on the 7th he was further directed to

[1] Then First Lord of the Admiralty.

proceed with her to Gravesend, where on the 9th, at eight o'clock in the evening, in a hard gale of wind and rain, I joined her with five passengers, consisting of Major Ogilvie and Captain Rose of the 50th, Captain O'Meara of the 68th, Lieutenant McKellar of the 1st or Royals, and Lieutenant Graham of the 32nd; and having supplied the ship, as usually is the case, at this place, with live stock and vegetables, we sailed hence for the Downs on Sunday, the 11th, and at five the same evening anchored in Leigh Road, moving again from there at two the following afternoon and anchoring at five on the Warp, where we continued till ten the following morning, when we proceeded towards Margate Road, where, having anchored at five in the evening, we found several sail of merchant ships who were also bound down Channel.

At six on the morning of the 13th, with a very light air from the SSW, we made sail, and at noon, the wind having shifted to the eastward, we passed the North Foreland, and at two were abreast of Deal town, when we discharged the pilot, and at three o'clock, in company with upwards of a hundred sail of vessels, we hauled round the South Foreland. The weather continued squally with thick rain all night, and at times blew excessively hard from the NE. At nine the next morning Dunnose bore NWbN, five or six leagues; and at five in the evening we saw Portland bearing North, nearly the same distance. I had formed the resolution of hauling in for Falmouth, and keeping close round the Start for the purpose, with a view of getting on board an additional supply of stock which I had desired might be procured and in readiness to send off the harbour to me; but the wind blowing extremely hard to the eastward, with thick weather, I kept directly out of the Channel, and on Thursday,

November 15, at noon, took my departure from the Lizard, bearing NNW, eight leagues.

The wind continued to blow from ESE to N with little variation in point of strength until the 20th, when we had light airs and at times calms during the greatest part of the day; notwithstanding which we were early the next day so close in with the Rock of Lisbon that a pilot came on board of us, so that our passage from the Lizard to Lisbon could not be reckoned more than five days, which in a loaded ship must consequently be esteemed a very good passage; and this good fortune attended us so far as Cape St. Vincent, for at five o'clock in the afternoon of the 22nd we saw the land about the Cape bearing SE, eight or nine leagues, at which time it fell a stark calm, and continued so until Monday the 26th, when a fresh gale came on from the SE with a heavy sea and dirty weather. This put an end to all our hopes of making an extraordinary good passage, which we most certainly should have done had we not experienced this uncomfortable vicissitude of calms and gales; for when we made Cape St. Vincent I had every reason to hope and believe that we should have arrived at Gibraltar on the 24th very early in the day, which would in that case have made our passage to that garrison consist only of nine days, even reckoning the day of arrival.

However, our good fortune had left us to comfort ourselves with a view of the Spanish shore, particularly a part thereof which was a monastery or nunnery on the very extremity of the Cape, and which we had a full view of for several days. From the 26th instant to December 4 we had very severe weather and a prodigiously heavy sea, during which time we frequently stood in and saw some part of the land between Cape St. Vincent and Cape St.

Mary's. On the 4th we made Cape Spartel, and at eight o'clock in the evening entered the Straits' mouth, when it again fell a stark calm and so continued all the following day, which obliged us in the evening to hoist out our boats and tow the ship from the Barbary shore across to the Spanish to prevent our being drifted with the current past Gibraltar, which is frequently the case with ships bound here, and is termed by the inhabitants of the garrison 'Black-strapping.' But this very unpleasant situation we avoided by keeping all hands upon deck the whole night, and by towing and taking advantage of every little flaw of wind, which enabled us to anchor off the Old Mole at seven o'clock in the morning of December 6, after a passage of twenty-three days from the Downs.

We found here his Majesty's ships Trusty and Phaeton, Commodore Cosby,[1] and several sail of merchant vessels, with two Barbary frigates belonging to the Emperor of Morocco. As soon as the ship was moored I waited on the commodore merely to pay my respects to him as commander-in-chief, and proceeded directly from the Trusty on shore to the governor on the same occasion, who I found to be an old acquaintance, General O'Hara,[2] who commanded on the right at the siege of York-town in Virginia, and from whom, as well as the commodore, I received every possible attention and civility, having received repeated invitations to dine with them, but which, from the number of acquaintance

[1] See *ante*, p. 108.

[2] Brigadier-General during the American war; became a prisoner by the surrender of York-town in October 1781, and was not released till late the next year. Major-General at Gibraltar, 1787 to 1790; but not Lieutenant-Governor till 1792. Was given the command at Toulon in 1793, and was there wounded and made prisoner. In 1795, Governor of Gibraltar, where he was familiarly called 'Old Cock of the Rock'; he died there in 1802.

I met with in the garrison, was not in my power to accept of more than once with each. The following day we began to discharge the cargo, which, in short, was all delivered in good order by December 18, and the necessary receipts procured and sent home by post through Spain to the ship's husbands, and the ship was also ballasted and ready for sea on this day, and waiting only a Levant wind to proceed for Jamaica.

Before I quit this impregnable garrison I must observe that I was employed two days in viewing every part of it, the one on foot, the other day on a mule, in company with several officers of the army, who were good enough to accompany me on the occasion and explain such particular circumstances as curiosity led me to ask; and that I might not be prevented by the sentinels on the outposts from amusing myself with walking when and where I pleased, the governor was kind enough to give me a pass to enable me at all times to pass the barriers on the mountains and through the fortifications. Among those curiosities are two of the most worthy to be recited of any I met with, the one a subterraneous cave, called St. Michael's Cave, most wondrously and frightfully decorated, if I may use the expression, with natural, emblematical, but altogether fanciful, figures and representations of pillars and columns of architecture. The depth or extent of this cave is yet, and I believe ever will remain, a profound secret; none have explored its bowels far enough to gain any knowledge of its immense space or impenetrable fathomless bottom; but the natives of Gibraltar are of opinion that it is bounded in depth by the Rock of Gibraltar, and then continues its course across the Gut, or Straits' mouth, to Ceuta on the Barbary side, some depth under the sea; but whether or not this wild chimera has any claim to

probability I will not take upon me to say, but I must confess I believe a part of it ; for as its entrance is on the top of the rock, or rather brow of the highest hill, and its course seems in general directly down, I have no doubt but it joins some of those caves which lead from the sea into the rock on the east side of it.

It was in this cave that five hundred Spaniards hid themselves after having scaled the rocks on the east side, in the siege before the one of the war 1780, and whom, as it is recorded in the History of Gibraltar, had, previous to their undertaking this desperate scheme, taken the Holy Sacrament not to spare man, woman, or child, or accept themselves of quarter should they be defeated or discovered before they had surprised the garrison ; and I must further borrow the account of their fate from the History, by way of concluding my account of St. Michael's Cave, and observe that when they were attacked by a party of the garrison, and obliged to give way, they threw themselves headlong down over those tremendous precipices and perpendicular heights which they had before ascended, and were all of them dashed to pieces.

The other curiosity worthy of observation is an artificial production to add strength to this impregnable fortress, and was executed as well as planned by a sergeant-major of the army, as indeed are most of those works that have been cut or hewn out of the solid rock. This when first designed, and some little time after its being finished, bore the name of its author, but after a short space was by the direction of General Eliott (now Lord Heathfield), changed to St. George's Hall, or Cave, which name it now bears. Its entrance is a very considerable distance from the Hall, cut through a solid rock ; and through the passage are embrasures, not only to give

light but serve occasionally for guns. The Hall faces the Spanish lines and has some hundred feet of solid rock over its head and as many I may affirm under. There are five heavy pieces of cannon mounted in the Hall, which in any future siege must add, if possible, to the strength of the garrison.

There are a variety of other places at Gibraltar, in the opinion of some equally as curious as those I have mentioned, but I confess myself that I consider those the leading ones, and as I do not pretend to give descriptions of any more than I can possibly avoid, which is not the design of this journal, I shall finally finish my remarks on this place by confessing that I felt a particular satisfaction and pleasure in beholding the various fortifications and spots which had gained Great Britain so much honour and glory, and were, and ever will be, the envy of the crown of Spain; to which, though not so immediately interested in its recovery, I may add the court of France.

Having now completed my business at this garrison, I took leave of the governor and officers, and also of Captain Dawson of the Phaeton (the commodore having sailed from hence two days before), and returned on board, where I found two of the ship's company inclined to leave the ship, the one having got very drunk, and the other not wishing again to hear his abilities so often called in question at sea by the seamen; for in fact, from a complicated disease, he was rather a nuisance to the ship than any benefit. I therefore gave them their discharge, notwithstanding I then became short of my complement three out of sixteen, for one of those had shipped himself with me on these terms, that as he was a native of Gibraltar I should give him his discharge on our arrival, which I accordingly did. On Wednesday, December 26, at five o'clock in the

evening, I weighed and made sail from hence, and with a fine gale at ESE, ran through the Gut, and by midnight had passed Cape Spartel and was steering west to get an offing; but at daybreak a most violent gale came on at SW, and obliged us to reduce our sails to a pair of courses, which we were through necessity forced to carry, being on a lee shore in the Gulf of Cadiz, but which however we were sometimes obliged to take in. The gale blew extremely hard on the 27th accompanied with the heaviest rain I ever saw, and at twelve o'clock on this night, judging ourselves near the shore of Villa Nova, we wore ship and stood to eastward.

I come now to December 28, which is my birthday, and which has been so often before mentioned in this journal; and as the keeping it with some degree of spirit and being merry and happy on the occasion is as great a 'hobby horse' of mine as Uncle Toby's fortifications ever could be to him, I shall give a description of this day in my journal, as it will discover that neither gales of wind or lee shores could deter us from our intention of a jovial feast on this day, which I had all the passage from England assured the people they should have, let what would be the weather or our situation.

At daylight in the morning the gale blew very severe, with very heavy squalls and hard rain, and a prodigious heavy sea running from the SW; and the pleasure and all the comforts we promised ourselves were much reduced in number; for the cook, our chief engineer on this occasion, complained of the sea treating him roughly. At noon, dreading our falling into the Gulf of Cadiz and making a bad slant to the eastward, we wore and stood to the westward; but neither tack enabled us to clear the land, for to the eastward we were plagued with the above Gulf, and standing to the westward we were

in danger of all the coast from Cape St. Mary's to Cape St. Vincent. At one, the colours were hoisted and a salute of three guns fired, which we could not have done had any ships been in sight, for they must have taken it for a signal of distress. At two, dinner was on the table, to which, without distinction, the whole ship's company were invited, only one left at the wheel, for at all events we were obliged to carry the courses to keep her off shore.

The dinner consisted of a sea-pie, in which was a quarter of pork, a shoulder of mutton and three fowls, a roast goose, a roast quarter of pork, a loin of mutton, and a large plum pudding; with porter, port, sherry, Lisbon and claret. The dread of not pleasing me by their sitting or eating, added to the ship's motion, produced a scene truly laughable even in our situation, and several of us were thrown from our seats to leeward. When dinner was over I sang the accustomed birthday song, which I always on this occasion make myself; but previous to this my health was drank with three times three. The chief mate sang the next, the second mate after him, and so in rotation down to every man, all of which were sea songs either in praise of our profession, or dismal ditties of the distress or loss of some ship on a lee shore, one of which was the loss of the Lichfield[1] on the Barbary shore, of which we were then in some dread about ourselves, the wind having shifted and obliged us to stand to the SE along the coast of Barbary.

The songs being finished and the following toasts drank, viz: many returns of the day, the friends who dined at Gwarder on the occasion the preceding year, the owners of the Mercury, wives and sweethearts, a good sight of Jamaica, a happy

[1] A 50-gun ship commanded by Captain Matthew Barton, lost near Mazagan on November 29, 1758.

return to old England, the navy and army, the king and family, with success to Great Britain and all jolly tars. Those several toasts were drank with three loud huzzas, and everybody seemed perfectly pleased and happy; but as a very uncomfortable night was to follow this entertainment, and the gale rather increased, I judged it prudent to break up the company by promising they should have another frolic on New Year's Day to make up for their loss on this; and after being below three hours, at five the colours were hauled down and the men returned to their duty with three cheers. The people were not long on deck before the gale increased to its height, and was accompanied with the heaviest rain I ever saw; at midnight the wind flew round to the WSW, when we wore and stood to the SE. On Sunday, December 30, the gale ceased, and the wind coming to the northward we made sail and stood to the WSW.

The year 1788 commenced with fine, pleasant weather and a fair wind at NE; and I did not forget that I had promised the ship's company another treat to make up for the deficiency of the birthday; but as distinction and good order could only be dispensed with once a year, and the dining together a privilege consistent only on December 28, I directed a table to be spread in the steerage for the ship's company, and invited all the officers to dine with me in the cabin, down to the boatswain and carpenter. Accordingly at two o'clock the dinners were served up, theirs consisting of a quarter of fresh pork, a roast goose, a piece of corned beef, a dish of salt tripe and a plum pudding; ours of a corned leg of pork, two boiled fowls, two roast ducks, and a plum pudding. After dinner several toasts were drank with three cheers, which were returned by the seamen; and the evening concluded with a

song round, and as much mirth and good humour as could be found in any society that had met on the same occasion on shore; and at six o'clock the topsails were single reefed, the watch called, and everything snug and quiet.

From January 1 to seven o'clock on 6th the weather continued tolerably fair, and as we had found strong currents setting to the southward, I had determined on making the island of Madeira, to correct our longitude should the currents have set also to the westward; but the wind coming to the NW I dropped my intention of seeing Madeira and bore up to the SSW, with a resolution of making the Canary Islands; and on Monday, the 7th, at six P.M. we saw Tenerife bearing SSW, distant twenty leagues. We had a fresh wind all night, so that by seven in the morning we passed Point Teno, the westernmost point, about four leagues off shore, at which time we had a clear and full view of the Peak, as also of the islands Gomera and Palma; and at noon we ran past the former about four leagues from the land, and at sunset took our departure from Ferro, which island at that time bore east of us six leagues.

From the Canaries the weather continued remarkably fine until the 11th instant, and we had not the least doubt about us of being in the Trade Winds, as we had a fine gale at NE and were in Latitude 24° 00′ N and Longitude 25° West; but in this hope we were much disappointed, for on the 11th in the evening the wind shifted to the southward, and blew a heavy gale of wind. A few hours before the change of weather we spoke a brig from Glasgow bound to Antigua, who had been from thence eighteen days. On the 11th and 12th the wind blew from the SW, and on the 13th from the west, during greatest part of which time we were either under a

pair of courses, or lying to under the mainsail. The 14th the gale ceased, and the wind shifting to the NW we again made sail to the southward. From January 14 to the 21st the weather continued moderate, with variable winds from the NW to the NE, but on the latter day the wind shifted suddenly from the SSE to the NW, and blew with great fury, accompanied with severe thunder and lightning and heavy falls of rain. The 22nd did not vary in the least from the 21st except in lightning, which increased in fierceness and was more frequently seen during the day. But the 23rd was distinguished particularly for its extreme severity in violent gusts of wind, prodigiously heavy and loud thunder, and alarming lightning, several of the people having been struck with it; and it was not less wonderful that this gale should be marked for its singularity, by having poured on us in this climate, which might be termed the West Indies, a single but very heavy shower of hailstones, the smallest of whose size, after having stood the warmth of the hand in extreme warm weather while measuring its bigness, was absolutely more than half an inch. It may still increase the strangeness of the circumstance, and add to the curiosity of the remark, that the Lion brig of Glasgow, who we had been some days in company with, and hailed a short time after the expiration of the storm, and was at the period above recited not a mile from us, did not see a single hailstone, or experience that severity in the lightning we did; yet her captain acknowledged, when some days after he dined with me, that such was the violence of the wind at the time it shifted that he felt for our situation, and not having got a sight of us for some time after, was in dread that its attack had been the consequence of some fatal accident.

On February 2, 1788, at seven in the morning

we made the island of Antigua, and at nine o'clock we parted company with the Lion, with whom we had kept for a month, having put some letters on board her, and made sail between Montserrat and Redonda, and at four in the evening took our departure from that island. At 6 A.M., February 6, we made the island Alta Vela, and passing within sight of the south side of Hispaniola, saw Cape Tiburon at noon the following day; and having also hauled over towards the island Navassa, took our departure from it on the evening of the 8th instant.

At nine the following morning we saw Jamaica, and the 10th anchored at Port Royal, where we found lying his Majesty's ship Europa, Commodore Gardner,[1] with several other king's ships; and on the 11th I sailed for Kingston, moored the ship, unbent the sails, and set off to deliver my introductory letters to the several merchants and planters to whom they were directed; but I found that more difficulty attended this business than I was at first aware of, for most of them were at least a day's journey from Kingston; and I had the mortification to find that their estates were so situated that however disposed they might be to assist me in loading my ship, that it was inconsistent to hope or expect they could in the least promote it unless I removed to one of the out-ports, from whence they are obliged to ship their produce. Here was an insuperable difficulty, for I had resolved on an effort to establish

[1] Alan Gardner, a captain of 1766, had commanded the Duke in Rodney's action of April 12, 1782; at this time he was commander-in-chief on the Jamaica station. He became a rear-admiral in 1793, and had a distinguished share in the action of June 1, 1794, for which he was made a baronet. In 1800, being commander-in-chief on the coast of Ireland, he was made an Irish peer; and in 1806 a peer of the United Kingdom, with the title of Lord Gardner. In 1807 he had the chief command in the Channel, and died in 1809.

myself as a Kingston ship, and had assured some friends in that town that I would not remove thence.

I concluded from those observations my only scheme must be that of sending the several letters by post, to which in some days I received very polite answers, assuring me of every assistance provided I loaded at the port from whence they shipped their sugars. Among my letters I had one from Sir Peter Parker to Mr. Robert Richards, to whom I had soon an opportunity of paying a personal visit; from this worthy friend I met with the most flattering reception, and indeed I must at once confess that on his friendship all my hopes for some time rested; nor was I disappointed, for he not only gave me a considerable part of my cargo himself, but introduced and recommended me to several other distinguished planters.

It must suffice if I say that by meeting with far more attention and civility than I had a right to expect from the inhabitants of Kingston and the neighbouring planters, that I was enabled to clear my ship at the custom house, completely loaded, by June 12, a circumstance that gave me some reason to be sanguine in the hope of establishing my ship as a Kingston trader, without subjecting myself to the mortification of seeking for a loading most probably at a different port every season; for as it is considered the most eligible port to be fixed at in point of safety and ease, so must I conclude from my reception that it is so in point of society and hospitality.

The few little excursions that I made during my stay at Jamaica this time were merely confined to such as necessarily forwarded my business; among which was a visit to Mr. Richards at Creighton Hall, in St. David's, with whom I spent some days, and whose friendship, as I before observed, was so

pointed that no words are equal to the description, nor can imagination do more than faintly paint them. Several visits to Swallow Fields, the estate of Mr. Temple Luttrell, made frequently a part of my amusements; for, independent of the interest and friendship I was fortunate enough to hold in that family, I not only received particular attention from Mr. Burke, the overseer, but its vicinity to Kingston rendered the absenting myself for so short a ride a matter of no importance in respect to business.

It would be inattentive were I to forget the obligations I was under to my friend Mr. Doubt, in Clarendon, whom among the rest I visited, and to whom I am indebted for a proportion of my cargo; and I shall conclude these observations with a remark that my last journey was to the mountains at Cold Spring, a curious retreat belonging to Mr. M. Wallen, at which place there are alone productions sufficient to fill a volume, but of which I can only remark that the seasons, in respect to heat and cold, differ as much from the plains of Jamaica as the months of July and January do in England, and that every vegetable and fruit, the production of Europe, is to be seen here in very great perfection; which with the naturally hospitable disposition of the owner makes an excursion thither a desired treat.

After a variety of new scenes to which I had been hitherto a stranger, and searching after sugar with as much eagerness and jealousy as any established master in the employ, for five months, I at length completely filled and loaded my ship, and was ready for sea on June 15, on which day I fell down to Port Royal, and on the 17th proceeded to sea with a prospect of a quick and favourable passage to England.

It must not be considered otherways than the extreme of good fortune when I say that I had ten

cabin passengers from Jamaica to London; but circumstances rendered pecuniary matters less advantageous than I had a right to expect, for a part of a family which had taken their passage with me being prevented by circumstances from fulfilling their engagements, I not only returned them their passage money but lost as many others by their not determining a few days sooner than they did. However, as I before observed I had to the number of ten, whose names I shall insert by way of bringing to my recollection the messmates who accompanied me through a long, tedious, and hazardous passage to England, as also to keep in remembrance the obligations I am under from their civility in making choice of a new commander in preference to larger ships and more experienced men who at this period were about to depart the island also. A Mr. Kelly and his lady of Ireland, with two young gentlemen, Mr. Drummonds, made the first engagements and occupied the chief accommodations. Mr. and Mrs. Scobell filled the remainder of the cabin, and Messrs. Ruthven, Spooner, Campbell, and Young occupied the cabins in the mess-room; those, with three servants, made up the whole of the passengers, so that, with myself and officers included, we sat down every day thirteen in number to dinner.

The hope of succeeding in procuring a quick passage made me determine on attempting the Gulf of Florida, and I accordingly bore up for it as soon as I was clear of Port Royal cays; but ere we had reached the west end of Jamaica the winds began to decline, and we experienced very light airs and an inconsiderable log for some days. It was June 22 before we made the Grand Cayman, at which we made no stay, notwithstanding it is usual for ships to provide themselves with plenty of turtles from that island. From this period we experienced

nothing else but calms for, I may venture to say, six weeks; and such an easterly or weatherly current ran at this time against us that what by great exertion and attention was gained in a week was by the current lost in four hours, and we continued drifting and sailing from the Isle of Pines to Cape Antonio from June 22 to July 8, during which period we had been in each situation a number of times.

On July 7, having been sometime at an allowance of water, I formed the resolution of anchoring under Cape Antonio and seeking for the watering place described by Mr. Bishop and other navigators to be commodiously situated for that purpose near the sea. Accordingly on this day, the current continuing to impede our passage round the cape, I hauled close in shore, keeping the lead going; and having some assistance from a Spaniard who came to sell us turtle, anchored at nine o'clock in the night about a short half-mile from the shore. Here having supplied ourselves with a quantity of water, of whose goodness I cannot speak much in favour, and also wooded the ship as well as having procured some turtle and sea winkles, and refreshed ourselves with a walk and a bathe in the sea, we on the following day weighed and made sail round the cape, the current still running with great rapidity to the eastward.

Previous to our anchoring at the Cape of St. Antonio, and during one of the days we lay becalmed off Cape Corrientes, Mr. Ruthven, one of the passengers, and myself took the jolly-boat with a view of amusing ourselves with a row round the ship only; but having advanced towards the shore about a mile, we formed the resolution of landing with a view of discovering how far the proofs set down by Bishop in his charts respecting the land of Corrientes was accurate or not. It was exactly four o'clock in the afternoon when we quitted the ship,

at which time she lay becalmed about three or four miles off the shore; and as we had no intention of taking so long a voyage on our first setting off, we had neither bread nor water in the boat, nor any but ourselves to spell an oar or assist in the fatigue of rowing and bailing the boat, for, in fact, from the extreme heat of the weather she almost kept us bailing as much as rowing. About sunset we reached the shore, but could find no one place for two miles along the coast where even this little punt could with safety be conveyed.

The novelty of seeing turtle and fish in such abundance swimming under and round us without discovering much signs of fear drew from us the immediate recollection of our distance from the ship, which at this period was at least increased to six miles; and we absolutely amused ourselves some time in attacking a turtle which was wantonly playing on the surface of the water without any seeming dread of our approach, and which I struck on the back with the oar as he floated on the water, as also on his dauntless return from the bottom a second time toward the boat, but without doing him any more mischief or hurt than a sand-fly's attack upon a dromedary, or a flying-fish hitting a whale in his scudding from a dolphin. My brother adventurer and myself having at length cast our eyes on the ship, which now from the close of the evening appeared to be at an awful distance from our little contemptible cockle-shell, and having both turned to in the first instance to bail before we began to advance in the rowing, he by bailing with a tin pot and myself with my hat, and having also with serious faces deplored the want of a little grog, and the impossibility of landing to procure a little water, we began to conceive it highly necessary to exert ourselves in rowing with all dispatch to the ship,

particularly as a few minutes after we totally lost sight of her. Having previous to losing sight of the ship taken some marks by the land astern, and a star to direct us in our course, and rowing at least at the rate of four miles an hour, we at length got a sight of the ship's lights, of which they had hoisted a great number; but we were even then at so great a distance from her that, notwithstanding they fired a gun, the flash of which plainly discovered itself, yet not a single sound or report of it reached us; and although they also continued beating a drum and ringing the bell yet no sound comforted our ears for at least two hours. A breeze of wind had sprung up, and the ship although laying to was forging ahead and also dropping to leeward, so that our distance had increased in proportion as a mile and a half is to one hour.

At length we arrived on board about ten o'clock, where we found our shipmates had felt more for our absence than we had experienced fatigue in rowing, as they had suffered their fears and imaginations to draw them into a belief that we had either been murdered on shore, or swamped the boat in an attempt to land. However, as it was four o'clock when we left the ship and ten when we returned, a space of time of six hours, and as we were greatest part of that time employed rowing a great rate to and from the shore, I am convinced we did not go over less ground than eighteen or twenty miles without even a drink of water in a West India climate.

The weather continuing calm, and the current confining us within the line of Cape Corrientes and Antonio, and still having in view the procuring water to the ship, several of the passengers proposed a trip in the yawl to search for supplies: and they accordingly were furnished with four hands

under the direction of the third mate, as well as with provisions and grog, pistols, ammunition, &c., &c. At eight in the morning of July 4, for I must take notice this expedition was also previous to our anchoring under the cape, the boat was manned, and Messrs. Ruthven, Spooner, Young, and Campbell proceeded in her to the shore, which was then about three miles distant from the ship.

I must here take notice that one of the party was a master of a ship, who had a few weeks before unfortunately lost his vessel on the eastern part of Jamaica, and it was from the knowledge of his experience that I ventured a second time to allow a boat to quit the ship so far from land; but as Captain Young and his fellow voyagers were supplied with a good boat, well manned and victualled, and had the whole day before them, I was in no dread in the beginning of the cruise respecting them or the people. During the day I had taken every advantage of the light flaws of wind to keep the ship near the shore, which, however, by currents was towards the evening drifted off to the distance of four or five miles. I had made several signals for the boat to return during the day, and my instructions, which were in writing, to the officer who commanded her, were—by no means to be absent from the ship at sunset; but not hearing or seeing anything of her at the close of the day, I began to reflect on myself for again trusting a boat at so great a distance from the ship.

When absent myself on the former excursion I had no fears, although our situation was then more liable to misfortune from the size of the boat and the want of water and provisions; it was a scheme, however uncomfortable, that I plunged myself into without consideration, and at my own door lay the consequences that might arise from so precipitate a measure; but I not only had the mortification to

consider that, as that was a step taken without thought, so was this another in which I had involved myself, by too easily granting my friends to satisfy their curiosity, when there was a probability of its being at the risk of their lives.

By eight o'clock the ship was hung with lights, flashes and false fires burnt without intermission, and the author of this second new piece of impropriety trudging the deck, as sulky as a British tar who had just struck to a Frenchman, and as unhappy as a soldier who had seen his favourite general and friend fall in the midst of a victorious battle. At length at some distance we saw the flashings of a pistol, and by constant flashings from us in return with three pounders, the boat at length reached the ship, having rowed from sunset to nine o'clock, and having brought with them a supply of three casks of water, three large turtle, and a quantity of turtle eggs, and being all of them as heartily tired of their expedition, as the master of a ship with trudging Port Royal streets in search of hogsheads of sugar.

Having stood round Cape Antonio with a fresh breeze, we continued on that tack to the northward as far as Latitude 24° 00' N, and on July 15, having stood again to the southward, we saw the Colorados rocks, bearing E by S, four or five miles; so that in eight days we had scarcely gained that number of leagues. With those unfavourable circumstances we continued beating to windward till the 21st inst., when the current shifted and ran strong to the eastward in our favour, which gave us more ground in one night than we had before gained in three weeks. On the following day, July 22, we took our departure from the Pan of Matanzas, on the island of Cuba, and in company with several Jamaica ships shaped our course through the Gulf of Florida.

During most of this night we had calms, thunder,

lightning, and rain, and at daylight on the morning of the 23rd we were close in with Old Maticombe on the Florida shore, with a current setting SE half a knot. At 5 P.M., a breeze of wind springing up at SE, I stood off shore to the ENE till ten o'clock, when judging from my own, as well as from the opinion of my friend Captain Young, that we were steering too much to the eastward, I kept her at that hour NE. The navigation of the Gulf being at all times dangerous and precarious, but particularly so from the uncommon circumstances we experienced this voyage, I did not quit the deck the whole night, but continued on it, carrying a crowd of sail to push her through so uncomfortable a situation.

At one o'clock, having just then thrown my cloak round me and taken a stretch on the deck, the second mate called out he saw the bottom, and on my looking overboard I perceived we were not only in very shoal water, but that there was a strong smell of land. Having instantly ordered the studding-sails to be taken in, and a cast of the lead hove, I found we were in six fathoms fine sand, and that the water shoaled very fast, having the next cast had only four fathoms. The sudden alarming and dangerous situation we were in scarcely gave time for a moment's consideration, but we all agreed in one opinion—that from the courses we had steered it must be the Bahama shore we were on; and in hopes that steering west would confirm our supposition, I directed her to be kept that course, the topsails being lowered down, and the other sails all taken in. But fresh alarms were the consequence thereof, for we shoaled the water to three fathoms, when I instantly directed to let go the best bower anchor.

Having handed the sails and made everything as snug as possible, and found we had only two

fathoms and a half under our stern, we walked the deck in anxious dread and expectation for the morning light. At three o'clock we saw a large ship, with a prodigious crowd of sail, standing across us into the same dangerous situation we were in ourselves. We had then time to reflect on the danger she was exposed to, and an opportunity of being useful to others, although in the midst of distress ourselves. I accordingly directed lights to be hoisted, and a gun to be fired, to show her that our situation was a distressed one, and that she should instantly take the necessary steps to avoid running on shore.

This unexpected preparative having discovered to them that the bottom was in their view, and soon after, the daylight breaking and giving them a view also of the land, they very gratefully made all the sail they could from us, without ever sending a boat to our assistance, or inquiring into the cause or hazardous situation we were exposed to. How a man possessed of the smallest degree of humanity could reconcile such conduct to himself I am at a loss to account for: 'tis sufficient for us to reflect, with heartfelt satisfaction and triumph in the pleasing thought and recollection, that we had saved a brother mariner from inevitable shipwreck: and that, distressing as our own situation was, it had been useful to others, and the means of preserving them from the loss of probably their lives and fortunes.

At length, after a most painful and tedious night, the long-wished-for day appeared. The morning commenced with a clear sky, serene pleasant weather, and moderate gales: but alas! it shone unnoticed, and the dread of losing a valuable ship and cargo only possessed our minds at this period. I say our minds, for independently of some of the passengers having a considerable property in sugar and

rum on board, besides their clothes and money, all of them showed a great concern for my situation in particular, and were very assiduous and earnest in assisting, as far as in their power, in relieving and extricating the ship from the danger she was in. On viewing the land we found to our great astonishment that we were on the Florida shore off Cape Florida; that there were twelve vessels, called wreckers, under the land, whose business is solely to gain a living from the misfortunes of distressed mariners, of which, in the course of the year, many unhappy circumstances offer in those dangerous seas; that on our starboard beam, right ahead, and close under our stern, were reefs of rocks having only eight feet of water on them; that we were then in about nineteen feet of water ourselves, and the sand and shells under us in full view.

Here let me indulge in contemplating the goodness and friendship of Providence, whose unsearchable and boundless kindness and protection could alone have directed our wandering bark to this one only friendly spot, this single asylum of security from inevitable shipwreck; nor let me for a moment hesitate to pronounce that such an escape could [not] have happened unless the Almighty Governor of the Universe had directed us through this dark and horrid labyrinth to the spot we had anchored in; for when we first saw the ground, that confusion and dread so natural to people who experience such instances, prevented us from shunning the danger we were in, nor indeed could we, in the night, see how to avoid the reefs we were surrounded with, but ran first one way, then another, trying all courses to seek for deeper water, till at length we thought it prudent to come to anchor; which had we deferred doing one minute, we should have struck on a reef, from which we most probably should never have got

off: or had we ran directly straight on without taking the several windings chance only had shown us, we must have gone on shore.

However, having carefully sounded round the ship, got everything ready, Captain Young at the helm, and the rest of the passengers stationed where they could be of most service, and with every exertion and attention of the officers and ship's company, we weighed anchor and made sail, running for a considerable time and distance without having a foot under the bottom to spare, and at one time her keel touched the ground, and the rudder became useless for a minute; but at length the water deepened, we lost sight of the bottom, and left the twelve wreckers to deplore the circumstance, which we, with all gratitude and veneration to Heaven, rejoiced in with hearts too full for utterance, with looks and feelings more readily and easily imagined than can be described.

The last view we had of any part of this land of Florida or anything on it was a large fire, which we had too much reason to suppose was made to draw the distressed and unwary mariner towards that friendless and very destructive shore; or it probably might be a vessel that had already been shipwrecked, and [the wreckers] having satiated their inclination for plunder, it had been set on fire as no longer useful for any purpose but to warn others from approaching so near to the shore. At noon on Friday, July 25, the day which commences double insurance on ships from Jamaica, from its being the season for hurricanes, we took our departure from the Gulf, or, in other words, it was the day that we were totally clear of it, having been both to the northward and eastward of the Bahama banks, and having on that day been six weeks from Jamaica, a passage that is usually made in ten or fourteen days.

From July 25 to August 7 the weather was constantly fair and pleasant, but on that day a sudden squall in some measure deranged our proceedings by the loss of the main topsail and splitting some studding-sails; but, taking the whole weather together during the voyage, it must be acknowledged that it was favourable and pleasant, but by being so made our voyage most probably as long as any that has been generally experienced by West India ships at this season of the year. August 15 we spoke the Grandvale, Captain Bains, from Jamaica, bound to Glasgow, out fifty-five days, whose longitude was thirteen degrees to the westward of ours. We kept company together until the 22nd, when he, being bound to the northward, hauled for Cape Clear, having two days previous to leaving us dined with us on board the Mercury.

August 20 we spoke the Liberty, Captain Trew, from London, bound to Piscataway, out forty days from the Downs; [he] was by his reckoning in nearly the same longitude as the Grandvale; but as by their account we had either passed or ought to be on the banks of Newfoundland, and we kept sounding regularly, we concluded ourselves considerably to the eastward of both of them. On August 28 we spoke the Britannia, Captain Gibson, of London, from Jamaica, out thirty-seven days, and by his longitude [he] was very little, if any, to the eastward of the other two last spoke with. August 31 we spoke the Active, Captain Rigg, from Jamaica, bound to Cork, out nearly as long as us; his longitude came seven degrees nearer ours, and two ships he spoke with were still nearer our account.

I come now to September 2, on which day we had been from Jamaica eleven weeks; all our stock of every kind expended, as well as almost every other thing, except ship provisions and water, of

which we had enough to last us a considerable time longer; and as I had then thirteen passengers to feed who cannot easily put up with difficulties, it is not to be wondered if I say I was more than ever impatient to see the land. On September 2, conceiving ourselves in soundings by my reckoning, we hove to and sounded, but found no ground; but the following day we struck ground in seventy-five fathom, fine sand. On the 4th we made Scilly Islands, and on the 5th anchored in Carrick Road, Falmouth, where I landed my passengers; and the following morning, having taken on board Mrs. James and family, with her sister, sailed for London, where, from light winds, we did not arrive until the 14th, making our passage from Jamaica to London river to consist of twelve weeks and five days.

Having now reason to hope I was fixed in the Jamaica employ, I took a house on the Surrey side of Blackfriars Bridge, in Albion Place, and on September 29, 1788, removed my family from lodgings in Norfolk Street in the Strand to the new house, which had never before been inhabited. The ship having been discharged, docked and again fitted for sea, I prepared to sail, having no other cargo on board than my own venture, which amounted to about 1,500*l.* sterling. Accordingly on Sunday, December 14, 1788, I joined my ship at Gravesend with the passengers, consisting of Captain Coghlan, of the 66th, and his lady and servant-maid, who I had engaged to land at St. Vincent, and Monsieur La Combe and his lady, of France, with a servant belonging to the Hon. Temple Luttrell, and a black servant belonging to a lady at Jamaica; making in all four cabin passengers and three steerage ones.

On December 21 we passed through the Downs, and on the 22nd had a smart gale at north; the 24th

we were close in with the Start, but a gale coming on at west, I bore up for the Isle of Wight; and the 25th anchored at Cowes, having ran through the Needles. The 27th we again sailed from thence with the wind at NNW, and on the 28th at two o'clock P.M. ran into Carrick Road, with a view of landing Miss Pender, the sister of Mrs. James, who had accompanied us in the ship to London on a visit. Having completed this matter I quitted Carrick Road without anchoring or seeing any of my friends there, not wishing to lose the advantage of a fair wind at east to escape the Channel gales, which are so frequent at this season of the year.

Here it must not be forgotten that this is my birthday, and that some little account of it in general fills a place in this journal. From the dread of the Manacle rocks, and wishing to be perfectly clear of the land about it, it was past six o'clock before we sat down to dinner; at which time we were off the Lizard in a short disagreeable sea, and the passengers all of them extremely sick. However every disposition was shown on their side to celebrate the day with the usual spirit, and having finished our dinner as quick as possible, the whole ship's company were placed at the table, while we in the cabin took a cheerful glass. So soon as the seamen had finished their dinner, we joined them in the mess-room, where the usual toasts and songs were sung with the accustomed loud huzzas, and the evening finished with as much satisfaction as I could possibly wish for.

From this day to January 2 we had variable blowing weather, on which day we saw the land of Spain about Cape Ortegal, and from hence to the 19th we had continued heavy gales of wind, several of which were as heavy as any I had seen for many years past; and from the violent squalls which ac-

companied those storms we were seldom or [n]ever enabled to carry even a staysail to keep her to. Indeed the ship was much too light, and consequently less able to withstand the powerful effects of those heavy gusts of wind; however, on the whole we made very tolerable weather of it, not having shipped so many seas as there was reason to expect. On January 8 we were to the westward of 21°, but on the 20th of the same month were in only 16°, having been drifted back to the eastward that distance, while laying to in those heavy gales.

From the circumstances I have mentioned a considerable loss of time was experienced, and by being drove so much to the SE, we made the Canary Islands on January 15, among which we had one of the smartest gales of any we had met with. We were unfortunate enough to continue in sight of those islands several days, during which we had very perfect views of the Peak of Tenerife, which we frequently saw above the clouds when no other part of the island could be distinguished; and after we had run by our log upwards of thirty leagues from it, and its distance from the ship could not be less than one hundred and twenty miles, we had a clear and distinct view of it.

From January 20, on which day we took our departure from Tenerife, to February 1 we had light pleasant breezes and fine clear weather; and on passing the tropic the usual ceremony of receiving Mr. Neptune and his wife was punctually observed, some passengers having the accustomed fees to pay on the occasion. This day is generally a day of mirth, and consequently several whimsical plays and amusements employed the ship's company until the close of the evening, when they assembled in their berths to drink what grog they have collected on the occasion, the fine or fee to Mr. Neptune, for

those who have not passed the Line, being either a bottle of spirits and pound of sugar, or in lieu thereof half-a-crown cash; but as this ceremony is in general so well known, I shall omit giving any particular account of it.

On February 11 we made the island of Barbadoes, and when abreast of Bridge Town we sent our boat on shore to procure refreshments; and having bore up made St. Vincent the 12th, and the following day landed Captain Coghlan at Kingston in that island, proceeding directly on with the rest of the passengers towards Jamaica. On Wednesday, February 18, at daylight, we saw the island of Alta Vela; on the 19th, Cape Tiburon; and on the 22nd anchored off Greenwich in Jamaica; from thence the same evening proceeded with the land breeze to Kingston.

I remained in this island until June 10, during which time the civility of my friends had rendered the service considerably more pleasant than I had ever reason to expect, and my ship was completely filled and everything as comfortable as I could wish. In the course of my stay this voyage, a large party of gentlemen having accompanied me on the small island of Marlborough in this harbour to fish and divert ourselves, some chance circumstances produced a whim in some of the party to give me the name of Governor of Marlborough; on which, encouraging the idea of this fanciful hint, I created them all knights of the Order of Marlborough with the flourish of an old piece of iron hoop that accidentally lay in my way. This trivial circumstance produced a jovial day, and the whim was from time to time encouraged and improved, until at last the Order was completed to thirty-one, the number established in the infancy of our institution. As I shall have occasion to speak more fully of the pro-

gress and splendour of this Order some future period. I shall content myself with observing that it promises to rival the most celebrated institutions of the age, and will most undoubtedly flourish as long as the world will exist or any traces of human wisdom can possibly explain its merits, grandeur, and invaluable blessings.[1]

June 11 I sailed from Port Royal, having on board the following passengers:—Mrs. Flowerdew, five children, a nurse, and man-servant. Captain Douglas and Lieutenants Kay and Davison of the Buffs, and a Mr. Spencer. The 14th we made the Grand Cayman, from which island we procured some turtle, and on the 17th saw the highland of St. Philip's on Cuba, and the following day saw Cape Antonio, where a strong SE current impeded our progress, as it was the 19th before we doubled the cape. On the 24th we made the Dolphin's Head on the west side of Cuba; on the 25th passed the Havana; and on the 26th took our departure from the Pan of Matanzas; and from the Double-headed Shot on the 27th; and the 29th was through the Gulf of Florida in Latitude 28° 00′ N.

Nothing remarkable happened during our passage home but the common occurrences of a sea log. I shall therefore observe only that on August 8 we struck soundings in the British Channel, and on the 11th saw the islands of Scilly, from which we procured a variety of refreshments that became very acceptable to us, having had rather a long and tedious passage. The winds were so extremely light that it was the 17th before we reached Falmouth, off which harbour we were becalmed and at anchor until the 21st, and from that period to the 27th we were between Falmouth and the Thames.

[1] See Appendix C.

September 18 the ship was cleared, and on the 30th I quitted her, the owners having sold her.

Having immediately exerted myself in procuring the command of another ship, I so far succeeded that my friends purchased the half of a large ship called the Maria, of which I also took the one-eighth; and having fitted her for sea by October 9 I removed her from the dock at Limehouse to Deptford, where we began to receive a cargo of navy stores contracted for to be landed at Jamaica. The Maria was nearly twice as big as the Mercury, and would carry eight hundred casks of sugar; she was originally built for an ordnance store-ship by government, and was commanded the latter part of the war by a lieutenant on that service.

October 18, having completed our lading, which consisted of seven hundred tons of stores, we sailed for the Downs, where we arrived the 27th, and on the 28th sailed from thence down Channel. Foul winds and bad weather obliged me to put into Falmouth December 1, from whence I sailed again on the evening of the 14th. A few hours after which a most violent gale of wind arose which obliged us to lay to under our poles, and drifted us up Channel as high as the Isle of Wight. I contended with the elements and kept the sea until the 21st inst.; when, having lost the starboard quarter-gallery, had the stern frame knocked in, split most of my sails to pieces, and was otherways very materially damaged, I put into Torbay on the 22nd a mere wreck.

While the ship was refitting here I took a chaise on the 26th inst. and sat off for Falmouth, merely to enjoy the satisfaction of spending my birthday with my family and friends; but first having, agreeably to my usual custom, directed a dinner to be

provided for the ship's company, under the direction of the chief mate and surgeon; which I found was so religiously observed that, after the seamen had made themselves completely drunk, they had the gratitude to rob me of a cask of Lisbon wine that was at that time stowed in the mess-room; but as I did not expect any other return from the general run of seamen, I was not much surprised.

I returned to my ship at Torbay again on January 1, 1700 bringing with me Mrs. James, her sister, Miss Polly Pender, and my eldest daughter Eliza, whose intention was to see me as far as the ship and return; and with those ideas they consequently came away totally unprovided with more clothes than would last them for the journey; but having gone on board to spend the day, a fair gale of wind sprung up and I was obliged to proceed with them in that distressed situation. The 6th of January we passed the Lizard and had the usual dirty Channel weather until we were to the westward of Madeira when the trade winds produced fine, pleasant weather; and on February 11 at five in the morning we made the island of Deseada and at noon were running down the south side of Antigua.

March 1 we made Jamaica and on the 2nd came to an anchor in Port Royal harbour, and the following day proceeded to Greenwich where we were employed unloading the ship and the 22nd when we proceeded to Kingston and began to load with sugar for London. During my stay this voyage was particularly attended and orders were shown by the hospitable inhabitants of this island to Mrs. James and myself and I am sure their minds were impressed with the most grateful sentiments of their generous conduct.

The island of Nassau Sound brought about in

the spring of this year a dispute with Spain, and Great Britain had provided a powerful armament to recover satisfaction for the insults she had received from that court.[1] In consequence of this a convoy was directed to sail from Port Royal on July 25; and on that day the Maria sailed from Kingston, but from the circumstance of my running on shore in the shallop going from Kingston with a load of water, the ship was unable to proceed until the 26th. On the 29th, having beat to windward, we got sight of the convoy; but the weather being severe, the ship very deeply laden, and having sprung fore and main topmast, main topgallant mast, and crossjack yard, I was, notwithstanding the danger of passing the Havana, obliged to bear up for the Gulf of Florida on the morning of this day. The following day I spoke the Druid, bound to Bristol, and Abby brig, of Whitehaven, bound to Ireland, which vessels continued in company with me until we passed the Havana, which was August 12; when the Druid hauled over for the Florida shore, and the brig was the following day lost near the Carysfort reef, by mistaking our time and signal for tacking. On the 16th of this month, when passing through the Gulf, and being nearly abreast of the above reef, we saw four large ships on shore, and one with her lower masts only standing; there was plenty of wreckers round them from whom they had assist-

[1] In May 1789 two Spanish ships of war, coming to Nootka Sound, found there three English merchant-men, which they seized on the pretence that the coast and the adjacent seas were Spanish, and that any foreign ship trading there was a smuggler, if not a pirate. In England very great indignation was felt; satisfaction and reparation were peremptorily demanded; and as these were not at once given, a very large fleet was assembled at Spithead, which is commonly spoken of as 'the Spanish armament of 1790.' Before this material threat the Spanish government acceded to all demands, and in the autumn most of the ships were paid off.

ance. but I am much inclined to believe most of them was totally lost.

The 18th we cleared the Gulf: and on September 13. in latitude 40° 37 N. and longitude 43° 44′ W. we carried away the fore topmast and the larboard side of the top. and continued in gales of wind until the 18th, when we repaired our losses and proceeded on with as much dispatch as possible. On October 4 we spoke a French brig. from whom we solicited some assistance, being short of provisions: but we could only procure from him a few dry fish for which he made us pay a most extravagant price. On the 6th. we struck soundings in the Channel in eighty fathoms: and on the 7th saw the islands of Scilly. Having arrived in the river safe, and discharged my cargo in good order, I paid a visit to my friends in Cornwall, and left my ship fitting again for sea under the direction of the chief mate.

In the beginning of the year 1791, having taken in freight for the island of Madeira, I dropped down to Gravesend, and on March 14 anchored in the Downs, having been joined by Messrs. Linton, Bowes, Billing and Hill, and four steerage passengers. On the 17th, I sailed from the Downs with the Good Intent shallop, which I had purchased for the purpose of loading the ship in the country, and gave the command of her to Mr. Richard George, the second mate of the Maria. On the 20th a very heavy gale of wind obliged me to bear up again for the Downs, where we rode out an extremely heavy storm, and passed many anxious hours for our safety: but the gale abating and shifting round from westward to the northward, we again sailed from thence on the 24th, but the wind still continuing variable with gales and calms, we did not get further than Falmouth for many days, where we anchored

on the 31st inst., and took on board forty-five casks of pilchards and 1,615 pipe staves. Having also added Mr. Wilmer to the former passengers we quitted Falmouth on April 5, and after meeting nothing scarcely but bad weather and contrary winds, we arrived at Madeira on the 30th following, after a tedious passage of twenty-five days.

From May 1 to the 19th, myself and passengers lived on shore at the house of Messrs. Phelps & Co., to whom I was consigned, and from whom I experienced every civility and attention that it was possibly in their power to show. The various curiosities of Funchal and its extensive environs were, with much studied kindness, shown to myself and passengers; and was I to mention the innumerable invitations we all received from the English merchants here, and the pains they took to make our stay among them agreeable and pleasant, it would be going considerably beyond the limits of my journal. May 20 we were under sail with an additional cargo of eight bulls, three hundred and three pipes, eighty hogsheads, and forty-nine quarter casks of Madeira wine, and the governor of the island passing us in his way to Porto Santo on a party of pleasure, I directed the ship's company to salute him with three cheers.

From an apprehension of being too late to load at Jamaica if I delayed any time in waiting for the Good Intent, I gave them directions to make the best of their way to that island, but after several times parting and joining company in our passage down to Antigua, she made that island the same day we did in the Maria; but off Montserrat, having carried away her gaff, she fell astern and we never saw her again till she joined us at Jamaica. In the whole of our passage from England to this island, which we arrived at on June 19, there was nothing

particular happened but what is the result of common voyages at sea. Where there is a set of agreeable companions time glides smoothly on and keeps pace with the ship's run; nothing can be more pleasant than the constant fair and moderate weather of the Trades; nor is there a situation more enviable at sea than a West Indiaman so circumstanced, where the most part have excellent and superb accommodations, and generally furnished with a profuseness of luxury in every article, which is seldom to be met with in any other service, if we except the East Indiaman.

It was July 24 before I had discharged the wine, which on finding I could not carry home myself I shipped on board some other London ships at half freight, and determined to try a voyage to Casco Bay in America for a load of lumber; in which idea I was encouraged by all my friends and promised a charter to the amount of my full cargo. With the most flattering hopes and expectations I sailed from Kingston, Jamaica, July 25, having with me as passengers, Doctor Clarke, M.D., and Mr. Robert Boog, merchant, both of that island, who were going to America with a view of re-establishing their health, and both of whom were my most particular friends and acquaintance.

I struggled two days to gain the windward passage but, finding a strong lee current and fiery breezes, I bore up for the Gulf of Florida on the 27th inst. at sunset. I made the Grand Caymans on the 31st, and in the evening of that day carried away my main topmast, which produced no other bad consequence than the delay it occasioned. August 2, notwithstanding our misfortune, we rounded Cape Antonio, and passed the Havana on the 7th, and without meeting the smallest difficulty got through the Gulf on the 10th, and steered along the coast

of America with favourable winds and pleasant weather.

On the 12th of this month we spoke a sloop from West Florida bound to the Havana, who had been out 55 days, and was in extreme distress for provisions of every description as well as water. I doubted much the truth of the incredible story, for it really had the appearance of such to me, and therefore sent my chief mate to search into the merits of the Spaniard's claim, as impositions of this nature were too frequently met with from the deceit and infamy of those petty cruisers in the mouth of the Gulf. However, as the mate's report did not convict them of any visible intention to deceive, and it was better for me at all events to lean towards relief where no positive proof could possibly be produced, I supplied them with beef, bread, some fowls and rum; and as much water as I considered sufficient to carry them to the Havana, refusing to take any money from them in their distress, as the supply we gave them was of little or no moment to a ship of our size and consequence compared to theirs. The 17th instant, about midnight, a most violent squall from the NW came suddenly on and caught the ship with every sail she possibly could set; and from the injudicious ideas of the officer of the watch brought the ship into a state of the most imminent danger, and but for the sails flying into pieces the most fearful consequences might have been very reasonably expected. The three topsails, two topgallant sails, one royal and all the topgallant and topmast studding-sails, lower studding-sail, jib and stay-sails, with every studding-sail boom, was split and totally tore in pieces; nor was it in our power to govern the ship with the helm, as the first attack of the wind was on our beam and broached us to all standing.

Those are circumstances evidently distressing at all times, but they are rendered infinitely more so from their happening in the night when the half of a weak-manned ship's company is asleep in their hammocks, and when the danger is increased in proportion to the darkness and terror of the scene, which strikes the men as they first advance from their beds to the ship's decks. They are too frequently the effects of inattention and want of real information in the officers who are intrusted with the charge of a watch in the merchant service, who generally consider the too frequent reduction of sails as the effects of fear; and are also led to continue them out merely to save themselves and the watch trouble. 'We have got the worst of it,' 'I can see through it,' 'Keep all fast, it will soon be over,' are the common expressions used upon the occasion; and that the captain may not hear there is a squall, lest he should come on deck and create puzzle, as it is usually termed, it is very customary not to touch a rope or prepare in the smallest degree for the coming evil, till at length, when it does come, confusion comes with it, and, 'Who would have thought it?' is the only satisfactory account you can collect of the loss of a whole suit of sails.

Doctor Clarke's illness had increased to a degree beyond all hopes of recovery, his senses were perfect to the last, but his speech had failed him for a few days; on August 20, about half-past eleven in the morning, this great and good man breathed his last with a smile, leaving his friends distressed at the event beyond everything I can describe; for although his state of health was such as to prevent his launching out into his usual vein of wit and pleasantry, yet his very extensive knowledge of the world, through great part of which he had travelled by sea and land, made him a most desirable and in-

structive companion, as he was in possession of so many droll and whimsical stories as to keep all those with whom he conversed in a constant state of mirth and jollity. I deposited his remains the same evening, in a coffin of stout oak, 'into the bowels of the great deep,' through the larboard cabin window, with all the sad solemnity possible at sea; and on the same day had sounded in seventy-five fathoms black mud; so that I trust the doctor will rest secure and quiet until the 'Resurrection of the body, when the sea shall give up her dead.'

On the 24th of this month I made the land about Montauk Point on the east side of Long Island, and stretching along to the eastward so far as I judged necessary, by my soundings, to open the shoals of Nantucket, I entered the south channel on the night of the 26th in a thick fog, and by lead and line alone, without a glimpse of land, passed between those shoals and George's [Bank]; an attempt which I was induced to hazard from my knowledge of the channel while cruising there in the American war in his Majesty's frigate Orpheus. On the noon of the 27th I saw Cape Cod, and that evening, while running up the Bay of Fundy, hoisted out the jolly-boat, and for five shillings purchased as many large codfish for the ship's company, out of a fishing vessel, as served the whole two days. On the 28th I saw the high land of Agamenticus and the Bauney Beg hills in three hummocks to the eastward of it. I then stood in for the land about Portland harbour, and about noon procured a pilot for this intricate navigation; for so strange did all the land appear round about Casco Bay, that it is not possible for a stranger to form any idea of the harbour and channels that it contains.

I entered the harbour of Portland on Monday, August 29, 1791, and was very agreeably surprised

to find it so commodious and comfortable. The Maria, who drew seventeen feet water, loaded great part of her cargo at a wharf alongside of the town; and although the channel in the harbour is rather narrow and confined, yet considering the several secure places to ride in, besides the harbour itself and the innumerable branches of fine rivers around it, I am induced to confess it, in my opinion, one of the most desirable situations I have ever seen; for in point of plenty and extreme cheapness it cannot be equalled, and if the severity of the winter is only excepted, there is no place existing I should so soon choose for my residence during the remainder of my life. Fish is in such abundance that very large plaice, equal in size and quality to turbots that cost ten shillings at Billingsgate, are not eaten by even the poorest inhabitants of the place; and, strange as it may appear, it is even so with haddock, flounders, and many other sorts of fish, all of which in the summer may be caught from the wharfs. But so particularly attached was I to deep-water fishing that I was seldom out of my long boat, which, being rigged and a very complete boat, afforded me a world of amusement; for, as in one hour after I reached the ground, I could, with the assistance of the people's fishing, load the boat with very fine large haddock, hake and cod, so did it give me much entertainment to dispose of my cargo; for the seamen became also so very tired of fish that I could not prevail on them to eat it once a week, but was latterly obliged to touch at Bang Island, which was inhabited by one family, and give them the whole of my day's catch, which seldom or [n]ever was less at the times I fished than from two to three hundred of every description.

Before I take leave of this subject, so far as relates to the great cheapness of every article neces-

sary for eating and drinking, I shall observe that meat of every sort was supplied the ship's company, and they every day had their choice, at the rate of twopence per pound; that turkeys was from a shilling to eighteenpence each, geese a shilling, and fowls from tenpence to a shilling a couple; the best fat sheep I bought at nine shillings alive, and everything else of the kind was proportionally cheap.

Intent as I may appear to be about the amusements of fishing and sailing round the several creeks and harbours in Casco Bay, I did not lose sight of the more necessary occupation of pilotage and making myself acquainted with the coasts. For this purpose I ordered my boat to be equipped with everything necessary for a long and useful cruise; and, that nothing might be wanting to afford me information, I took with me a very intelligent, decent man as a pilot, at a dollar a day; and, being victualled for three weeks with every sort of provision and liquor, and manned with Mr. Peter Pender,[1] Owen Roberts, the pilot, and myself, and furnished with hooks, lines, fowling-piece, drum, a black servant, and every other requisite, I quitted the Maria in Portland harbour on Saturday, October 1, and proceeded out to sea through White Head Channel.

Having carefully examined the several channels near Portland, I did not delay any time in and about the harbour, but proceeded on directly between Green Island and the Ledge, where I sounded about an hour and half; but, as I do not intend to describe the remarks of a pilot in this journal, I shall only touch upon them where I find it immediately necessary, and proceed to say that at two o'clock I hove to off the Half-way Rock and caught about a dozen very fine large rock-cod for present

[1] Apparently his brother-in-law.

use, and then made sail for Cape Small. At three o'clock, the wind having freshened to a stiff gale, and the strong ebb-tide setting at the rate of nine knots against it out of the River Kennebec, the sea began to run extremely high, and several very heavy ones broke over the boat, who, having no decks, became in a dangerous state, and was at times nearly full and water-logged; but, by keeping a very handy pump, with three buckets, constantly going, we reached behind Hanniwells' Point at halfpast four o'clock, and secured our frigate for the ebb-tide.

The first object was, of course, to get into some kind of quarters, and an old temporary fisherman's hut at once afforded us that comfort; which we set about repairing with tarpaulins and other useful articles from the boat, and in the course of an hour a large fire was lighted, the stores landed, and ourselves warmed and shifted. About five we dined off a very fine codfish and potatoes, cold roast beef and chicken-pie, and, having took a moderate quantity of wine to complete the repast, I ordered the stores to be re-embarked, and at a little past six o'clock we was under way and running up Kennebec River. The night was coming on squally and prodigiously thick and dirty, and, therefore, by the advice of my pilot, I ran the boat on shore on Parker's Flats, abreast of a gentleman's house of that name—for, from the situation of the tide, it was the only way we could reach the shore; and, therefore, having moored the boat and left Roberts and Harry the black as keepers thereof, we marched over the flats through mud and water up to the knees for at least a mile before we got to Captain Parker's hospitable mansion.

Kind and friendly to strangers was, indeed, this worthy family, which consisted of the good gentleman, who was a captain in the militia and about eighty years of age; his wife might probably have

reached her fiftieth year, but could not have exceeded it; the nephew was about twenty, and then building a dwelling-house adjoining to that of his uncle's, who was to pay him the full cost of it after it was furnished; the two nieces—would to heaven I could describe them!—was 'fairer than fair,' graceful, bewitching, angelic creatures; and those, with two domestic rustic girls and four rural artless clowns, composed this happy enviable family. Such was the habitation I was conducted to through mud and mire, and consequently I must be agreeably surprised to find that, however difficult and disagreeable the access was to this happy domain, yet the visitors was amply repaid for their toils so soon as they reached this worthy man's fireside. Dry clothes being substituted in lieu of the wet, which we had each of us brought on our heads, we sat down to supper, which consisted of tea and toast, lamb-steaks and eggs, and a moderate quantity of cider and grog; for, as to wine, it is a luxury in which few, if any, indulge in the River Kennebec.

The delicious meal being over (made infinitely more so by the company of the two amiable girls), the old gentleman informed me it was his constant custom to assemble his whole family about that hour to prayers; but, as probably I might not be inclined to join them in their mode of praying, I was at liberty either to withdraw into another room, or, if I preferred it, go to bed. To this I assured him that nothing could possibly oblige me more than the permission to join him and his good family in prayer, and that I begged to add on this subject that it was also my own custom to assemble my ship's company every Sunday on the same occasion, to whom I invariably read prayers and a sermon of my own making. Everything being adjusted, the old lady began by reading the lesson for the day, which was

the 14th chapter of St. John, which, I must confess, would have come much better from one of the young ladies, who appeared to me to have had the advantage of a good education, which I trust I shall stand excused in saying the aunt had not, from her inaccurate mode of reading a very plain epistle in John. A heavenly hymn followed the lesson, which was sung divinely by the whole company except the travellers, but the voices of the two sweet girls far surpassed and excelled everything of the kind I ever heard, and I was as much in love with their singing as I was distressed at the aunt's manner of reading. However, after an extempore prayer and sermon, which took a considerable time, and which was a heap of tautology, from the old gentleman and one of the master masons then at work on the new house, the service ended.

On October 2, so soon as the morning service was finished and we had taken a very comfortable breakfast, I directed preparations to be made for our departure, and consulted my pilot how I should repay the worthy family for their civility and kindness; by whom I was informed I was to consider what expenses they had been at, and, agreeable to the custom of that part of the country, repay them for it. I further learned from him that, as we were three, and had a supper, beds, and breakfast, he thought the least I could offer them was three-and-sixpence British. I confessed my surprise at this proposition under several heads: first, how I could offer any money to a private independent family for their civility to me as a stranger; and, secondly, how ridiculous such a sum as he proposed would appear for 'all the benefits we had received in mind and body.' To the first he assured me it was the constant custom, as there was few, if any, public-houses in that neighbourhood, and that as all people

frequented private houses in their journeying through the country, it was usual to go in that way without the smallest hesitation, and that they would consider themselves much obliged to any friends who partook of their comforts whatever they happened to be; and the sum he assured me to be equal to their expectations, and that he believed a larger one would be refused. Under those considerations I ventured to take an opportunity of addressing the old lady when alone, and, after thanking her for her great kindness and civility, begged she would allow me to leave a couple of dollars for her servants. She expressed the greatest astonishment at the sum, and insisted on my taking one of the dollars back, which, on my declining, she said, 'Well, you will come again to us in your way down the river, and then you must pay nothing.'

The same disagreeable circumstance that attended us on our coming to Captain Parker's was experienced on our going from it to the boat (the walking over flats through mud and water), as the tide happened to be unfavourable both times. At nine we was in the boat and under way up the channel with the young flood, enjoying one of the finest scenes I ever beheld—romantic, wild and irregular woods, lawns, and beautiful contrasts, with now and then a house newly built on a half-cleared estate. There are a vast number of well-built houses and excessive handsome farms in the river, but for some miles in the way up we found none, an immense tract of land remaining in its rude, though admirable, state of nature. Ships of very considerable size go up at least sixty miles, but vessels of more moderate burden are launched as high up as eighty or ninety miles from the mouth of the river, which is navigable for such a boat as I was in for upwards of a hundred. At two, while

still beating up the river abreast of the chops in Merry Meeting Bay, I ordered dinner to be put on table, which consisted of fish and flesh and every good thing we could possibly wish to enjoy. At seven we got as high up as Connor's Rocks, near Lovejoy's Narrows (a strange name), and having securely moored the boat, walked from thence about a mile and a half to Rittle's tavern at Pownalborough.

This house was kept by a German and his wife, who had a family of two sons and four daughters. Two of the latter were extremely handsome, and the civility of the whole house induced me to take up my quarters there for the night. I therefore directed a small supper to be provided, and at nine o'clock sat down to as comfortable a meal as I ever remember to have fed upon. The old man smoked his pipe, and related his peregrinations and the difficulties he laboured under in the American war; the good old wife prepared the feast, while the daughters, clad in homely apparel, but with looks of native sweetness, virtue and truth, did us the kindness to attend the table.

The morning of Monday, October 3, turned out unfavourable to our wishes. It blew strong down the river and rained extremely hard. I consequently breakfasted and dined at Pownalborough, but, the afternoon proving more kind to our hopes, I embarked again in the boat at three o'clock and proceeded as high up as Pittston, where, at eight, we supped in the boat and then landed at the house of Captain Egrys, where we slept, and in the morning, before the family were moving, left the house and continued our voyage up the river. At eight o'clock, Tuesday morning, we breakfasted in the boat on a mess of rich chocolate on our way up, and at 1 P.M. ran under the woods at Cobbosseecontee, and dined on a

piece of corned beef, fish and potatoes. At three, the flood making up, we made sail, and at six ran alongside the wharf at Hallowell, and went to Clark's tavern, supped and slept there that night.

In the morning early of Wednesday, the 5th, having first breakfasted, we set sail again and proceeded up the river; at eleven we arrived as high up as Fort Weston, where there is a tolerably decent little town; and, as the long-boat could go no further up with any degree of safety, I determined to pursue my journey by land to the head of the river and come down it in a canoe. I accordingly prepared for the expedition by appointing Owen Roberts as my valet to carry a suit of linen, and the pilot on a horse in case I should find one necessary from either the circumstance of fatigue or accident. Thus equipped, myself with a fowling-piece, powder and shot, and a small quantity of cash, at noon we commenced the journey, and at one stopped at Thomas's tavern and refreshed with some cheese and cider; about two viewed some curious saw-mills on the road; and at three dined at a small ale-house on the way, where we could procure nothing but pork and eggs, but of which we made a most sumptuous dinner. From this village, whose name was Vassalborough, we reached a house where a bear had just been killed, whose fat I purchased, when it was melted and put in jugs, which the pilot was to call for in his way back, by which time they promised to have it ready. During our stay at this place we saw and partook of the ceremony of husking corn, a kind of 'harvest home' in England, with the additional amusement of kissing the girls whenever they met with a red corn-cob, and to which is added dancing, singing, and moderate drinking.

Without meeting any particular occurrence, we reached Fort Halifax at eight o'clock, having never

myself mounted the horse, and having very fortunately committed but little murder with my fowling-piece, not having gone much out of my way to disturb the happiness of the feathered throng. I was very handsomely received at Fort Halifax by a Mr. Liscoe, with whom I spent an hour in chat and drinking. His house, newly built, was in the centre of a very beautiful lawn, surrounded with a wood which was then clearing into open ground, reserving, as their fancy struck, groups of trees and shrubs. The river, abounding with salmon and a variety of other fish, ran all round the house; and the noise of the Tyconic Falls and the beauty of the adjoining country makes it a situation, from what could be seen of its then rude state, a residence 'devoutly to be wished for.' At nine I crossed the river to Thomas's tavern, where we supped, slept, and breakfasted, and then dispatched the pilot on horseback to Fort Weston, having determined to go down myself by water. At ten I proceeded with Owen Roberts up to the Falls of Tyconic, and about two miles above it; and, although those falls are not distinguished for their height, they may very deservedly be reckoned a great curiosity.

About eleven I began my retreat back, having, I am told, gone one hundred and forty miles from the mouth of the river Tyconic, and not being a long journey overland to Quebec.

I got back to Fort Halifax about noon, and having hired a canoe and purchased a bottle of rum for our voyage down, and taken a few biscuits in case of necessity, I quitted Thomas's tavern about half-past twelve and proceeded down the river. It may not be improper to observe that Mr. Thomas who kept the tavern at Fort Halifax, as well as the man whom I had hired for the occasion, had pointed out to me the great danger and difficulty of going

down the river from thence to Fort Weston; for although it was frequently done by canoes on the occasion of any particular circumstance, yet it was unusual for more than two people to go in them at a time, and it was even then necessary for both to be accustomed to the canoe and acquainted with the places of difficulty they were to pass.

I was rather inclined from this friendly admonition to conceive there was more curiosity in the river, however dangerous, than I first had conjectured, and was therefore doubly intent in prosecuting the design; and that nothing might interfere with the conductor's plans, I not only assured him of my disposition to follow his commands, but gave positive directions also to the same effect to my fellow-adventurer, Roberts, who was not only a good and faithful seaman who had sailed with me four years, but was in all cases obedient and ready to comply with every wish I had occasion to discover to him.

We passed several very dangerous places, which they there termed 'rips,' which was a confused number of rocks and large stones in the direct way we were obliged to pass, and which generally had a fall of some few feet. The keeping immediately in the midway of some of those rocks when the tide was running at least from seven to nine knots, was the business of the pilot, an ingenuity difficult in the extreme; it was our business to keep steady in the canoe, and not suffer our bodies to preponderate either side so as to lose the counterbalance necessary upon such an occasion; all of which we appeared to be provided against, and I expressed my satisfaction at our steadiness after passing some of those places of danger, when I was informed the one of the most serious consequence was about a mile ahead, and that after passing that there was nothing to dread. At the rate we were going, a short time

brought us in sight of the place, and I must confess I did not feel altogether so heroic on the occasion of passing this place as I had the former ones; for on a near approach, I saw, too late, the great improbability of our going safe over this 'sea of troubles,' and ere I could form a second conjecture she rolled over the falls, and buried us completely in Badcock's Rips.

I do not wish to be thought marvellous, for I have carefully avoided throughout this journal any account but what may be perused by those who were at the time with me, and I write the most part of this book at a period when its contents are frequently read by the officers, and people who were witnesses to the facts it contains; and therefore, so far from embellishing my narrative with more difficulty and danger than is fair, I am perfectly convinced that those who have shared them with me, will do me the justice to acknowledge they are mentioned with as much modesty as is prudent or consistent to come at facts. Plunged as we were, under the circumstances mentioned above, into a fall of water running at the rate of nine knots, it is not to be wondered at if I say I was at least a mile down the river from the Rips before I had a fair and correct view of the land; and when my unhappy sconce did pop above the waters, my body was so swiftly turned by the tide to all possible directions, that I had not sufficient time for many minutes to determine which side of the river was nearest to me; but when this circumstance was finally decided in my troubled breast, I made the best use of my paddles and shaped my course for the most favourable landing place, which, with my keg full of water, I very fortunately reached safe, finding Owen Roberts about half a mile higher up than myself and the pilot near that distance above him; but on ob-

serving the bottle of rum coming down along shore, which had by some circumstance travelled very fortunately at my rate, and feeling the effects of the cold as well as the ease of benefiting by the contents of the bottle, I returned into the stream up to my neck and secured my friend.

Having joined my fellow-travellers, or rather been joined by them, for they came to me in the canoe as if no accident had happened, we sat down upon the rocks to describe our several exploits in the midst and after the disaster. Says the pilot, 'After I had got on shore and secured my canoe, which had got into the eddy, I went off in search of the fowling-piece which I have very fortunately found and brought you;' and says Roberts, 'As I was swimming towards the shore I fell in with the handkerchief of linen and have saved that;' and says I, 'It has fell to my lot to save what will be of more use to us than both'—holding up the bottle and drawing the cork; and after each taking a comfortable suck or two, we again embarked completely wet and cold.

This accident happened to us about two o'clock, and detained us about an hour; so that before we were again under way down the river it was past three; the evening very cold, and a distance of about five miles to go to the long-boat. At five o'clock I reached Fort Weston, and without stopping at the boat went directly to Pollard's tavern, where, having dry clothes brought me, I shifted and dined; and upon examining my watch—which cost me fifty guineas besides the chain and seals—I found it had stopped, and was in some degree damaged by the water, and consequently useless to me until I returned to England. I supped and slept at this place, and on the morning of Friday, October 7, after having recruited our stock of bread, butter,

eggs, mutton, flour, &c., we made sail down the river, and at two o'clock dined in the boat off Captain Egry's house at Pittston, while under sail; and at five stopped to view a new constructed ship at Pownalborough, which was built of solid logs or baulks of timber, without a nail or any kind of iron-work except about her rudder. At seven we supped in the boat, and soon after anchored at Rittle's tavern, where we slept that night, after being entertained with more of the old German's stories, and his family's kindness and hospitality.

I am apprehensive that when I say we was detained again here by rain and unfavourable tides and wind, that it may be supposed the civility of the father and mother, and the account I have before given of the girls, were greater inducements by far for me again to stay than any impediments I met from the wind and weather. As it will be a bad compliment to them to enter into any defence upon the occasion, I shall content myself with saying that having breakfasted and dined here, and the weather breaking up on the ebb-tide, at three o'clock we again pursued our voyage; but the rain returning we anchored at Bath about four o'clock, and supped and slept at Lambert's tavern. Sunday morning, October 9, after breakfast we again embarked, and at two ran under Drummond's Island and dined, having made a large fire in the woods under the side of a hill to shelter ourselves from the heavy rain which at this time began to fall. At four o'clock we again moved down the river, and at six anchored on Parker's Flats, and paid a second visit to that family.

Being now perfectly acquainted with the custom of the people I was among, and with this family in particular, I did not feel myself under my former restraint, but ate and drank of such things as the house afforded, and in my turn entertained them

with some of my peregrinations in different parts of the world. When the usual time of prayers arrived, I preached them one of my sermons, which by chance was in the book I kept my journal in ; and from these circumstances became a great favourite of the old gentleman's, not to mention the handsome things the female part of the family said of me on every occasion.

In the morning of Monday I again attended prayers, and read a second sermon from the same book, of my own writing ; had a long entertaining conversation with the beautiful and amiable Peggy, whose history and that of the family's she readily made me acquainted with, and who I found had received a genteel education at Boston, but was then called to a retired situation with her uncle, from whom she and her sister expected a handsome fortune. The brother put a stop to our conversation by coming into the parlour to know if I would purchase a horse, which we all went into the stable to view, and which I was so much taken with from the account of the sister that I bought him directly for forty dollars, to be delivered and paid for at Portland where my ship lay, which across the country was about seventy-five miles.

In vain did I request the good lady to accept of any further payment for her civility, as she firmly insisted I had sufficiently paid her on my going up the river. I therefore took my leave of them at eleven o'clock on the morning of Monday, October 10, and pursued my voyage down to Hanniwell's Point, which I reached at two o'clock, and immediately ordered all the stores and utensils to be disembarked, and our old encampment fitted up with all possible expedition. At three o'clock we dined, but not so sumptuously as we had been accustomed to, for our stores began to run short and

our grog keg very low; we, however, got on very decently with the assistance of a piece of ship beef, which we never before had occasion to make use of. So soon as we had dined I divided the company and detached each on some useful business; for as we were going out to sea in the morning and might want some fish, I directed Harry to go and dig clams for bait, and sent Roberts also to pick mussels for our supper, while Pender was shooting sand-larks for the same purpose; but as a cold night was also coming on I did not neglect the necessary business of providing wood for the fire, and preparing the hut for the reception of its inhabitants, and this I appointed to be done by the pilot and myself; so that by eight o'clock we had supped and made the last of our rum into flip with the only two bottles of porter remaining. At nine I set the watch, beating the drum as usual to let the neighbouring fishermen know we was on guard.

At one in the morning of Tuesday, October 11, we beat to quarters and embarked the stores and utensils, which now took us but very little time; at two we got under sail, and at four passed Cape Small with a fine fair gale. At daylight we hove to off the Half-way Rock, and in one hour caught exactly one hundred prodigious fine large codfish, when we proceeded on to windward of Green Island, which we passed at eleven o'clock, and running through the Lighthouse Channel, arrived alongside the Maria at Portland about one o'clock, all well, after a cruise of eleven days, during which time I had expended only the trifling sum of seventeen dollars, including the pilot's pay, besides the provisions I had taken with me, which had fell very short of what it was expected to answer.

The Maria was in great forwardness with her cargo, and everything going on exactly as I could

wish. I therefore continued my daily visits to the neighbouring islands to gain information of the several places and channels round and in Casco Bay, and joined in a number of parties to fish and shoot with the gentlemen of Portland, who on every occasion took a vast deal of pains to make my voyage agreeable, and induce me to frequent this hospitable shore again. I cannot omit mentioning the arrival of the horse from my friend Parker, and the proof I gave the lovely Peggy of the high esteem and regard I entertained for her kind attention to me while at her uncle's house; for as I was not satisfied with the hope of her holding me in remembrance from memory alone, I was induced to beg her acceptance of a few Madeira basket flowers made by the nuns of that island, which I flattered myself might be honoured with a place at her toilet, and frequently put that sweet girl in mind of the high estimation I held her in.

On Wednesday, November 16, the Maria being ready for sea, and the weather apparently settled in the NW, with the most favourable prospect in the world before us, I determined to push with all possible dispatch, and at eight o'clock in the morning made the signal for sailing. But as I consider my cargo to be in some degree a curiosity both in quantity and quality, I shall insert its contents to show what serious consequences must arise to myself, either from its failure or success; for as stock was so excessively cheap here, and would be astonishingly high in Jamaica at the time of my arrival there, and as also the chartered cargo did not fill the ship, but left room for a considerable addition thereto, I not only bought as much stock as I could possibly stow, but completed the remainder of the cargo at my own risk, and the following is an account of its whole contents on the morning I left Portland:—

Nine large masts from 20 to 24 inches; 273,590 feet of pine boards, and 1,150 feet of inch oak boards; 58,000 red oak hogshead staves, and 71,250 of shingles; 4 spars of 14 inches, 80 feet long; 50 spars from 12 to 6 inches; a considerable quantity of oar rafters, handspikes, and capstan bars; 2 horses, 2 bullocks, 61 sheep, 9 hogs, 350 turkeys, 44 geese, 144 fowls, 24 ducks, 10 hogsheads of corn, and 2 tons and half of hay, besides the provisions and water for the voyage, and several articles which cannot be mentioned with any degree of correctness. The ship was no doubt extremely deep; for being apprehensive that with a cargo of lumber she would not be stiff enough, I kept seventy-five tons of shingle ballast under all for that purpose, which I however found, in the end, unnecessary, as she proved to be extremely deeper than I had any idea of, and would have been every way better had none been left in her.

The Lord Middleton, a ship bound to Antigua with the same cargo, got under way at the same time as the Maria, and Captain Butler and myself agreed to keep company provided neither of the ships could spare the other more than one topgallant sail, or by any accident was detained by any trivial loss of a sail or topgallant mast, when in either case the other was not to wait but push on for a market. This agreement being made and both the ships having a party of merchants to accompany us out to the lighthouse, at two o'clock they bade us adieu with three cheers, and we made all the sail on both ships that the wind and weather would permit of. In the course of two hours I found the Maria so much outsailed the Lord Middleton, that with the studding-sails taken in, and topgallant sails on the caps we continued to drop her; I therefore made all the sail I could crowd, and in the course of fifteen hours totally lost sight of her directly astern. My

old friend Boog, who returned with me as a passenger again, enjoyed with me the favourable prospect of a quick and pleasant passage to Jamaica, and we felt not a little proud at having so much the advantage over the other ship in sailing; little thinking that it was to prove an evil of the most serious consequence.

About four o'clock in the morning of the 17th it fell almost a calm, and at noon it became close hazy weather with light winds from the northward; of a sudden, at eight, it blew strong from the ENE, and brought us under a pair of courses; at 1 A.M. on the 18th it increased to a very heavy gale, with a most alarming sea; the hatches were all battened down on the quarter-deck, for those on the main-deck had been so from our completing the cargo; the dead-lights were all in, and the hull of the ship made as secure as possible; and as we had the anchors to stow, cables to unbend and stow in the steerage, and more than we could accomplish below from the suddenness of the gale and the short time we had been out of port, and very badly manned in the bargain, there was no time to get even the top-gallant yards upon deck, for the ship laboured so much and shipped so much water that six hands was constantly employed at the pumps, and the water gaining on us. At daylight of this horrid morning we were reduced to the foresail only, and that the ship could hardly stagger under; but as I knew we was entering on a very dangerous part of George's Bank and should barely weather the shoals, I found it certain destruction to reduce it, and kept the danger we was in from the knowledge of everybody but my friend Boog, who throughout the perils of this voyage behaved with the greatest fortitude, and was at all times ready to assist me so far as the circumstance of his situation would permit.

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executed by Mr. Pender and the carpenter, who, with Mr. Robley and the boatswain, were all that kept the deck besides myself and Boog. This of course was a sensible relief to the ship, but not sufficient even then to save her. I therefore went below and told the people that their lives depended on their exertions, and unless every soul came upon deck and disengaged her from the weight on her lee gunwale, the ship must inevitably go down. This had the desired effect, and I directed the anchors to be cut from the bows, the lee six-pounder to be thrown overboard with everything that was on deck without distinction. In vain did they solicit me to cut away the foremast; for that, I well knew, was our only hope in case we had not passed the shoals, or from any circumstance wanted to veer; though at this period I was convinced that plan would lead us into fresh difficulties by bringing us nearer to the danger.

The ship being in great measure relieved, our next object was the pumps, which, as I before observed, were both choked, and at this time better than six feet water in the hold. Two small spars which I had reserved for the occasion were with much difficulty erected as sheers, and one pump at a time constantly in the act of getting up to clear of the ballast, which was no sooner down and used a short time than they were again choked. It is to be observed that when that violent gust took us, the wind flew in from East to North, and as soon as the situation we were in would permit, which was about six o'clock, I succeeded in getting the ship before the wind and scudded under the remaining poles about SSE. But from the circumstance of the shift of wind in our favour, which proved a miraculous delivery from George's shoals, the ship continued to drift nearly the course we steered after we

had clapped her before the wind, which made me more attentive to other objects than that of profiting by the rate of sailing.

Well may the Psalmist David say, 'They that go down to the sea in ships, and occupy their business in great waters, [these men] see the works of the Lord and His wonders in the deep;' for I must confess I felt, and was witness to, such scenes of distress during this long, cold, and dreadful night—all of which time I was half naked and wet as a shag—that I am ready to acknowledge with that Prophet in the 27th verse of the same chapter—'that I was at my wits' end,' and as much fatigued and harassed as it was possible for any person to be in any situation at sea.

The whole night was taken up in clearing the decks and working the pumps, which at length began to gain upon the water, and when the morning dawned it presented such a dismal scene of distress as it is in vain to attempt to describe. The mainmast gone, and the rigging of the other masts in a most deplorable state. The boats, booms, anchors, guns, all the lumber, staves, spars, horses, bullocks, sheep and poultry, together with every individual article upon deck, washed and thrown overboard. The round house, which was the only place reserved for myself, officers, and passengers, was stove in; and every bottle of liquor we had, broke and washed on deck. The starboard quarter gallery was washed away, the doors and windows stove in, and all the provisions and staves stowed therein broke loose and in a shocking state; great part of the head and most of the carved work abaft was washed away, and the whole ship fore and aft a most complete, miserable wreck.

Having by eleven o'clock in the morning of the 19th got matters in some fair train, and fortunately

reduced the water very considerably, and finding the sea frequently break over us from the want of some sail to scud under, I got the close reef fore topsail set upon her with some difficulty at noon, and at five in the evening had also bent another foresail and set it, the weather becoming more moderate and clearing away at NW. From the 20th to the 23rd the weather was such as we should not have complained of had we not been in the distressed situation we was; but a heavy sea constantly running, and the ship being very uneasy from the loss of so much top-hamper to counterbalance her rolling, and keeping both pumps going from morning to night, it was impossible for us to make any great progress in erecting a jury mainmast, as all the rigging of the other masts were in want of repair, being cut and carried away by the fall of the mainmast.

About noon the 23rd the wind increased to another very heavy gale at SE, when I was obliged to bring the ship to under the balanced mizen; at seven it came to East, with excessive hard rain; and half-past flew in to the SW with a gust as heavy as I ever saw. Soon after which I was obliged to set the foresail and scud, the sea running so cross and heavy from the shift of wind that it became dangerous, in our situation, to lay to, the ship again straining and gaining on both pumps. All hands was obliged to continue upon deck the whole of this night, as the most fearful apprehensions was entertained from the water gaining on us, and the seas that broke over every part of the ship.

At five in the morning of the 24th, being then under a close reef fore topsail and foresail, scudding at the rate of seven knots, the tiller rope gave way and the ship broached to, which threw her once more on her beam ends and filled her decks fore

and aft with water, when we were obliged to cut away tacks and sheets and let the sails again go to pieces. By six o'clock we had cut the remaining canvas from the yards and got the mizen set; but the ship falling broad off in the sea, the gale having most dreadfully increased, the goose-neck of the iron tiller broke. The staves all worked loose in the gun-room, so as to render it impossible to come at all near the tiller; six feet water in the hold, both pumps again choked, and the ship in a most dangerous state. Indeed, nothing remained but that of again lightening her and shipping the spare tiller in the cabin. To effect this, the cabin was cleared as soon as possible of all its contents, which consisted of some thousands of staves, a quantity of provisions and water, and several ship's stores; the best bower cable, with several other weighty and come-atable articles from the steerage, were also thrown overboard to lighten her, as was everything not useful that remained on deck. At eleven o'clock the spare tiller was shipped, and the staves from the gun-room got upon deck and thrown overboard, a new tiller-rope reeved and relieving tackles got on, which, from the gun-room being filled with staves, was before impracticable. As soon as this was effected, a mainsail was bent to the foreyard for a foresail by as many hands as could be spared from the pumps, which had never during the gale once decreased the water in the hold to so little as five feet.

At noon the wind shifted again with another violent squall from SW to NW; at three, reefed the foresail and scudded under it to the SSE, endeavouring all in my power to push to the southward of this infernal coast. At six in the evening I bent a main topsail for a fore one, and set it close reefed; but the wind never continuing four hours in

one quarter, it was impossible, fagged to death as we almost were, for us to avail ourselves of many advantages that offered. At four in the afternoon of Friday, November 25, we made the Lord Middleton's signal to a ship directly astern of us to the northward, which she answered, and at seven spoke us, from whom we learnt that she had wore in the commencement of the gale and stood up the Bay of Fundy, not being so far advanced as George's Bank; but notwithstanding had suffered much in the gale, and thrown overboard a part of her cargo that was upon deck. As our situation was become truly deplorable from the leaks and distress we had experienced, Captain Butler was good enough to stay by us until the 30th instant, during which time the weather was so extremely bad that we could have no kind of communication by boats from him, notwithstanding he much wished to send us some liquor, of which we had not tasted any but water from the loss of our stores in the gale of the 18th.

The wind being chiefly from the eastward after we joined company, we did not take the Lord Middleton in the least out of her way, as we kept the wind to the southward as much as was in the power of the Maria to do; and as we sat all the sail we possibly could on the fore and mizen masts, she did not lose much time, as we were nearly equal to her in sailing without the advantage of the main-mast, owing in great measure, of course, to our having lightened the Maria so much as we had done. At sunset on this evening, having spoke with Captain Butler and thanked him for his kindness, requested he would make the best of his way, as we had cleared the ship of the water, and made only from twelve to fifteen inches an hour. We accordingly gave him three cheers and separated, and not-

withstanding we made an angle of three points from each other in our courses, by that ship steering SSE, and the Maria steering S byW, yet we were in sight of him all the first day of December, and the difference of the course was the only cause, I am convinced, of our separation. But 'tis very evident that 'the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong'; for had the Lord Middleton beat the Maria, I should not have been dancing under water in ten fathoms on George's Bank.

On December 3 we at last erected our jury mainmast, and on the 4th got the topmast on end, the topsail yard up and sail bent, and, the weather having become much more moderate, we were enabled to jog on tolerably well, although it was the 12th of the month before we could be said to be out of danger from the gales and distress that pursued us. On the 17th we made Cape Samana, on the Island of Hispaniola, and at noon on that day saw Cape Français, and ran along shore with a pleasant breeze, a sound we had been unaccustomed to for a month, and a scene that rejoiced our hearts even without the assistance of all-enlivening grog. We passed Cape Nicholas Mole on the 20th, and Cape Dame Marie at noon on the 21st; and the 23rd spoke the Westmoreland packet from Jamaica bound to Falmouth, off the White Horses of that island; and on the morning of December 24, 1791, anchored in Kingston harbour.

Thus ended a voyage which in the commencement promised me both profit and satisfaction; but Dame Fortune, ever fond of showing me her authority and whimsical disposition, contrived as usual to blast the most flattering prospect I ever had in the merchant service; for which I shall continue to despise her as long as she may probably have an inclination to torment or puzzle me, which,

from what I have hitherto seen, will be as long as I have any existence.

It was on May 9, 1792, that I left Kingston with a full cargo of sugar, rum, cotton, ginger, coffee, cocoa, pimento, logwood, indigo, Nicaragua wood, sarsaparilla, Madeira wine, boxes of sweetmeats, and twenty boxes and tubs of plants for his Majesty, a present from the Island of Jamaica, which I once before brought home, and had the honour to deliver to his gardener at Kew in as good order as I believe they could possibly be delivered after a voyage from Jamaica. I was as usual fortunate in respect to the number of passengers, which consisted of two ladies of the island, their servants and child, Mr. Robert Richards, one of my owners, and Messrs. Cowgill, Morgan, and Monsieur Pierre Jacoto and child, who joined the ship at Port Royal on the 10th, and on which day we sailed for England. Nothing particular happened this voyage home till June 25, when, in latitude of 44° 34′ N, and longitude 49° 00′ W, we saw a large island of ice. Its height was at least fifty feet above the Maria's royal-mast head, and its circumference full two miles and half, and it was aground on the eastern edge of the bank of Newfoundland; as to the westward of it there was thirty-five fathom, and to the eastward no soundings with one hundred and twenty fathoms of line. During our being near this island it was extremely cold indeed, and killed a number of turtle which myself and passengers had on board, and was felt very severely for twelve hours after we made sail from it, and which we did not lose sight of till we had run by the log seven leagues.

I must not omit saying that in crossing the bank of Newfoundland we caught a codfish in sounding, and purchased several others out of a French fishing brig; but the wind being very favourable we did

not delay a moment in fishing ourselves, but in thirteen days made Scilly, and landed my passengers at Falmouth July 10, after a passage of two months. I anchored in the river [on] July 15, and discharged my cargo in the course of that month; and in October visited Cornwall to pay my respects to Mr. Price of Penzance, from whose friendship I had been assisted with a considerable part of my cargo from his estate in Jamaica. November 25 I again took my departure from the Lizard for Jamaica, having four passengers, and December 4 made the Island of Madeira, and the 30th arrived at Jamaica without meeting anything of consequence after a passage of thirty-five days from the Lizard.

1793.—In the latter end of March the packet brought an account of war with France; and at this time the merchants of Kingston expected a number of vessels from America which they had insured to a great amount, and which they much wished to have a vessel to cruise for in the windward passage; and as I again had sailed out a very fine copper bottom shallop[1] of about forty tons, which my friend Lieutenant Goodson did me the favour to command, I offered to go out upon this service, provided they would get the consent and permission of Commodore Ford for me to wear a pennant, and I should receive an order from him to that effect. This the commodore having complied with, I sailed from Kingston on April 1, with a complement of fifteen men, including everybody, armed with as many cutlasses. On the 3rd I spoke his Majesty's frigate Penelope, and was informed by Captain Rowley that a French ship of the line and a frigate was cruising off Cape Tiburon. On the 4th I again spoke the above

[1] The Marlborough, called also (p. 217) the Little Maria.

frigate, and was told by Captain Rowley that the ship in shore was supposed to be a French line-of-battle ship, and received from him some muskets, pistols, and boarding-pikes, with a proportionable quantity of ammunition.

We then made sail towards Cape Nicholas Mole, and passed so near the above strange ship as to discover she was not of the line, but all the appearance of a merchant ship. With this information I bore away for the Penelope and Proserpine, but from their not regarding me, I made sail after the strange ship before mentioned, and at noon brought her to with some musketry, and having boarded her I found her to be a Spanish register ship from Cadiz bound to Omoa, out forty-three days. I again bore away for the Penelope and acquainted Captain Rowley with the circumstance, directly after making sail for Cape Nicholas a second time. On the 5th I spoke four Americans, and seeing the Penelope in chase of a sloop, bore away after her with a view of cutting her off for that frigate; but soon after, finding she had brought to, I once more pursued my course to windward. At three on the 6th in the afternoon, saw the island Gonave, and gave chase to a schooner in the ESE; at six fired several muskets at the chase, but being very near the Rochelois Rocks and a very dark and squally night coming on, gave over the chase, and brought to with my head to the NE. On the 7th chased and spoke another American whaler and at eight in the evening stood in shore off the Devil's Bluff. At daylight on the 8th chased and spoke another American from Georgia, bound to Port au Prince with lumber, and in the night ran alongside a brig, which also proved an American. On the 9th stood into Cape Nicholas Mole with several sail of Americans, and tacked within a mile and half of a French frigate that lay at anchor in the

harbour; at sunset chased a schooner in towards the mole, hoisted out the little jolly-boat, it being but little wind, and pursued and boarded her after an exchange of some musketry; found her to be the Bien Aimé, French schooner from Cape Français, bound to Jérémie, laden with lumber, rice and flour, mounting two swivels, and having twenty stand of arms on board; the master and mate remained in her, but twelve men had landed on the point with several valuable articles, besides four black slaves. Finding the frigate's barge manned and armed coming out of the mole after us, took the schooner in tow and prepared for defence; but night coming on, she returned without coming within musket shot. Having taken the two prisoners on board and manned the prize with four of my people, I stood towards Inagua with the hope, as I was in a good tract, of speaking some of the English vessels from America, bound to Jamaica, and give them every information in my power respecting the war, and the most probable method to reach that island in safety. At daylight on the 10th I tacked and stood toward Tortuga, and in the evening stood again out to sea, having spoke three American vessels.

On Thursday, April 11, at daybreak in the morning, saw a schooner to windward under a great press of sail coming down before the wind; gave chase so soon as she altered her course from us, but the wind dying away, hoisted out the boat and pursued her, which from her having six swivels she very soon beat off. Got out the sweeps and pursued her, and at ten came near enough to receive her fire from the swivels and about fifteen or twenty muskets, when I ordered the boat to go ahead and keep a fire on her bows with four muskets, to amuse them while we attacked them on the quarter, which we did with seven muskets and the swivel we had

taken from the prize, during which time the Bien Aimé made also a show of coming up to the attack; at eleven, finding her fire very confused and a good deal slackened, rowed the Marlborough alongside and boarded her; found her to be the Bien Heureuse, Captain Raymond Garcie, from Cape Français, bound to Les Cayes in ballast, and was going to be fitted for a privateer; manned with eight whites and twelve negroes, and having on board four hundred and thirty dollars. I took the twenty men into the Marlborough and put three men into the prize, and now having twenty-two prisoners on board, and only eight of us altogether, I judged it prudent to bear up for Jamaica, our provisions and water not being well calculated for the addition of such a family.

On the 12th I saw two boats in chase of us, and a ship standing after them, which on boarding proved to be the Serpent. I returned with the lieutenant to the ship, and received Captain Lee's dispatches for the commodore, and taking the Bien Aimé in tow, and directing the other schooner to keep up on our weather quarter, that they might be in readiness to assist me should any occasion require it, I bore away for Cape Dame Marie with a light breeze of wind. At six saw a sail in the SSE, cast off the prize, and directed them both to make the best of their way towards Jamaica, and stood myself towards the ship, which I found was a two-deck ship in chase of us, when I brought to. I clearly could discover in a short time that this ship was his Majesty's ship Europa on a cruise, and have waited her for to speak me, that she should not be taken to leeward by any improper caution in me, and received the commands of Captain Vashon[1] for

[1] The name appears to be a slip of memory. The captain of the Europa at this time was George Gregory; and Vashon was in command of the St. Albans in the Channel.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Bounty Bligh [illegible] pennant.

which on my coming into port was valued, and would have sold for two thousand five hundred pounds sterling; but at length they were claimed by the droits of admiralty, and to the shame and eternal disgrace of the authors of it, was condemned to them, leaving me saddled with my expenses, and a heavy loss by my purchase of the prize money.[1]

Not discouraged by this very unforeseen event, I resolved once more to try my fortune in the Little Maria,[2] under the sanction of Mr. Dundas's letter, 'authorising everybody to distress the enemy, and assuring them of his Majesty's countenance and protection, notwithstanding there was then no letters of marque granted by his Majesty's governors abroad.' I accordingly sold half the Marlborough to my very worthy friend Mr. Daggers of Kingston, not being able to bear myself the expense of another cruise; and having shipped twenty-eight men besides myself and boy, and advanced each man twenty dollars, and mounting four swivels with a proper proportion of small arms, boarding pikes, &c., I cleared out at the custom house as a drogher,[3] on Wednesday, April 24, and went in quest of fresh adventures.

It is necessary for me to observe that the Maria was going on extremely well with her lading, my friends having interested themselves much in my favour, and as the fleet was not to sail from Bluefields till July 25, I was under no apprehensions of

[1] Notwithstanding James' indignation, the law is quite clear that all prizes made by a ship not having a commission or letter of marque are droits of admiralty. The commodore's permission to wear a pennant carried with it no legal rights. For a somewhat similar case under French law, see Laughton's *Studies in Naval History*, p. 426.

[2] *Sc.* the Marlborough.

[3] A drogher is 'a small craft which goes round the bays of the West India Islands to take off sugars, rum, &c. to the merchantmen.'—Smyth's *Sailors' Word Book*.

well armed with pikes, muskets, and pistols. As we were then coming up with her and had all our sweeps out, I did not suffer the boat to come alongside, but directed them to follow me, that our way should not be the least impeded; and strange to tell, we rowed the Marlborough at least a knot faster than the boat could follow. About ten o'clock we got on her quarter, and went at it with swivels and musketry on both sides, when very unfortunately one of our swivels burst and badly wounded a man, and another was much burnt and cut by an explosion of powder.

I found the boat much wanted, having eight of my best men in her, and at which period she was at least two miles astern. However, we stuck close to her, when they at once manned their boats which they had early in the morning hoisted out, and to the number of thirty or forty men rowed towards us with an intention of boarding, and for a few minutes a very smart contest continued, and we had another man very badly wounded; at length they gave way, having, I am convinced, many men killed and wounded, as we saw them moving them in the boats after they fled back to the brig. We then got out our sweeps again and rowed close up on her starboard quarter, when all but the man at the helm went below, whom we shot directly through the head, having found him under the tiller. She then came to, and instantly struck on the beach; by which time the boat coming up, we boarded her, and killed two more as they were retreating over the bows on the beach; those who had got on shore keeping up a heavy fire on us. Having succeeded in boarding her, notwithstanding the heavy fire of musketry they kept upon us from behind the rocks and wood on the shore, we found she was the Venus brig from Jacmel, bound to Les Cayes, laden with

sugar, coffee, wine, cotton, and dry goods to a valuable amount; but the inhabitants assembling from Saint Louis, from which overland they were only a mile, the ship heeling in shore and the deck exposed to their fire, and finding the sea had thrown her so much up that it would be impossible to get her off, I directed such things as was handy and the most valuable to be put into the boat, and to my great regret quitted a vessel worth at least twenty thousand pounds.

Seamen at all times are unruly upon such occasions, but particularly so when no regulations are sanctioned by articles of war, nor any method devised to put a stop to folly and plunder; for instead of adhering to the commands given them, by which means much prize goods may be saved, regardless of their danger and intent only upon plunder, they waste those minutes which might be spent to great advantage in idle curiosity and trifling theft; and such was the case here; for after hazarding our lives two or three hours in waiting for the execution of my directions, the only things they brought on board were a few trunks with passengers' clothes, a few stand of arms, two quadrants, spy glasses, and her colours, with two negro women and a young child; and each man's pockets full of silver spoons and forks.

A brig and sloop appearing on the offing about this time, I stood out to sea in chase of them and pursued them close into the harbour's mouth of Les Cayes, where I came up with them and found them to be Americans; and at the same time saw a frigate and two armed brigs at anchor in the harbour, with about fifty sail of merchant vessels. I then ran out under an easy sail and took a canoe with a mulatto and two negroes going into Les Cayes with fish, which I most certainly took the liberty of detaining for two

good purposes: first, to give the people a fresh meal, and secondly, to add three valuable slaves to the other three we already had taken from the Venus, and the six from the plantation. Finding it was likely to turn out a very bad cruise, and seeing no prospect of being indemnified for the great expense I had been at in the two cruises, I formed a resolution of attacking one of the cays near the isle of La Vache, with a view of cutting off some negroes that was there in a great body fishing. I accordingly ran under the lee of the cays and anchored in two fathoms, and dispatched the boat with eight men to the shore armed with muskets and cutlasses; but as they [were] opposed by four times their numbers, I was obliged to send a second detachment on the boats returning for them, during which time the six men on shore acted on the defensive, covered by a small shed and a fire from the Marlborough with swivels.

After some skirmishing we saw two vessels standing towards us from Les Cayes, which I was apprehensive might be coming in quest of us, as we had most certainly alarmed the coast for twenty leagues. I therefore got everybody on board, with an additional number of six negroes, and in the night beat up between the cays so high as Saint Louis, where we saw our old friend the brig still on shore, and so situated as never to be got off; they were, however, getting her cargo out, great part of which it was very probable they would save.

May 3, it came on to blow extremely hard, and we were now in number in this little sloop—nearly the exact size of one of the smallest Gravesend boats—forty-eight, which was too many to keep with safety upon deck, and our hatches could not be kept open five minutes at a time, as the sea ran fairly over us, and it would be surely attended with the

most imminent danger to risk the shipping of a sea. I therefore bore up for Jamaica, and on the 4th, in the morning, hauled into a small bay to the eastward of Tiburon, in hopes of cutting out a sloop I saw at anchor there, but very unfortunately two nine pounders were mounted behind a small cover, which had nearly done our business, as we were for some time exposed to a smart fire from them, and unable to get out of the line of their direction, the shot falling extremely close to us, one of which would most probably have sunk us. The 5th, we came to an anchor in Morant Bay, Jamaica, where I continued excessive ill with a severe fit of the gout till the 11th, when I sailed for Kingston, where I disposed of my prize negroes to a Jew for exportation, for thirty-five pounds currency[1] a head, which nearly repaid me for my expenses, but by no means recompensed me for the danger, difficulty, and fatigue I had undergone.

The consequences of Hassell's failure began now to have serious effects. The bills I had drawn on him from Casco Bay followed me from London to Jamaica; and he had so injudiciously, not to call it by a worse name, disposed of my wine and rum left with him, that the sales of ten pipes of Madeira did not amount to one hundred and fifty pounds. All the bills he had accepted to pay the Maria's tradesmen were waiting for me at home unpaid, and I saw myself once more in a train of ruin from my own credulity and his shameful duplicity, as his circumstances must have been for some time in a dangerous state; for the very bills which he paid for the underwriters' proportion of the average loss on the Maria's last voyage also returned upon my shoulders for pay-

[1] About 25*l.* sterling. In the valuation of a prize brought into Jamaica at this time, it is stated that 3,694*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* currency was equivalent to 2,639*l.* 3*s.* 4¼*d.* sterling (*Admirals' Dispatches, Jamaica*, vol. 13).

ment. With things thus situated and a storm ready to burst over my head on my arrival, I sailed from Port Royal to join the convoy at Bluefields on June 23, 1793, having for my passengers, a mother abbess and three of her nuns, with a Mr. Busby and Billing, and my old friend Goodson who carried out the shallop.[1]

A calm having come on while we were among the cays, I was obliged to anchor, and so soon as the sea breeze set in I weighed and stood out under all the sail I could carry to weather the rocks. At eleven o'clock a heavy white squall came on; situated as we were among the shoals, and from being obliged to press the ship to avoid the danger, carried away the fore topmast and top, main topgallant mast, and split the sails; and another ship near us lost her three topsails. On the 24th I joined the fleet at Bluefields, and with the assistance of an officer and a party of men from his Majesty's ship Proserpine, was ready on the 25th when the signal was made for the fleet to weigh from Bluefields, and the Maria was among the first under sail with a valuable cargo of nearly the same articles as the last voyage.

The Europa, Proserpine, Serpent and Fly ships of war were our convoy, and the fleet in number about one hundred and fifty sail; and we proceeded through the Gulf of Florida without meeting anything worthy a remark. On July 29 the Europa quitted us and returned to Jamaica, being then in latitude 35° 09′ N, and longitude 61° 30′ W. On

[1] Neither here nor elsewhere is it stated what the passage money amounted to, though the inference is that it was considerable. According to Mr. A. H. Norway (*History of the Post Office Packet Service*, p. 10), in 1807, when the rates were somewhat higher than they had been ten years earlier, the fare, by packet, from Falmouth to Gibraltar, was 35 guineas, and to Jamaica, 54 guineas.

August 19, in the night, lost sight of the fleet, and at noon on the 20th saw two brigs to the northward laying to, one of which, soon after, gave us chase, and came up with us very fast. As the Maria had eight guns besides swivels, I did not think myself justified in giving her up very easily to a privateer of the size the chase was of, and so soon as she was near enough I fired a shot across her fore-foot, and hoisted my colours, which she answered by hoisting hers, and proved to be the Lady Howe letter of marque of Dartmouth.

The 21st I joined the fleet, and the same day we fell in with his Majesty's ships Raisonnable and Thalia, who were on a cruise. On August 30, finding the fleet standing for Cape Clear, and wishing much to reach London so soon as possible, I took an opportunity in the night of parting from them, and bore away for Scilly with a fresh gale at WNW. On the 31st I saw a ship and a lugger in chase of us, and very soon found they were enemies, as the lugger came up with us and exchanged several shots; but notwithstanding the ship also came up with us and fired several bow chases, while the lugger engaged us on the beam at times, yet from continuing a running fight under a great pressure of sail, and assisted by the coming on of a stiff gale and dark night, I very fortunately succeeded in getting off, and the next morning fell in with the Phaeton, Sir Andrew Douglas, who was a part of Lord Howe's fleet, which was then also in sight of us from the mast-head.

At ten o'clock on Sunday, September 1, in the night, I made Scilly light in a very heavy gale of wind, which, by the time I made the Start, on Monday, had increased to a very severe strong storm, with a prodigious high sea, and obliged me to scud up Channel under the poles. On Tuesday,

at seven o'clock in the evening, I hove to under a balanced mizen and mizen staysail, and in the morning, at daylight, saw Beachy Head, when we made sail, and at noon anchored in the Downs, where all my ship's company were prest and ticket men [1] sent in their room.

Having carried the ship safe into the river, and put things in a train for discharging her, I offered my services immediately to the Lords of the Admiralty, and proceeded to fit myself again for the service of the navy.

[1] Men sent from a ship of war in lieu of prest men. By Additional Art. II., p. 192, of the Printed Instructions (1790), no men were to be so sent 'unless they were trustworthy and to be depended on for their return.' The ticket appears to have been given as much to protect the holder from being prest, as to prevent confusion if his ship should sail before he could return to her. The following letter from Captain Peter Rainier of the Monarch (to which he had been lately moved from the Astrea) at Chatham, dated June 24, 1790, illustrates one phase of the working of this system: 'Please to acquaint their Lordships that John Knight belongs to the Astrea. I have no reason to suppose he ever has had an inclination to desert; but being sent away in a prest man's room, the 7th ultimo, without a ticket in the hurry of service, has been prevented joining his ship through his simplicity in not being able to satisfy the officers on the impress service, by whom he has been taken up. Captain Hartwell, at my request, some time ago traced him out on board the receiving ship at Spithead and was to have forwarded him to me the first opportunity that offered. I hope their Lordships will have the goodness to order him round to join the Monarch as soon as possible.'

PART III

HERE again commences trouble upon trouble, one difficulty following the other so quick that I had no time to breathe between them; no sooner out of one jail than into another; even into that blessed receptacle of all filth, Bridewell, was my poor carcass conveyed; so that I was enabled almost to say that there was scarcely a lock-up house, from the pump of Aldgate to Charing Cross, but what I had been honoured with a knowledge of, and been very securely bolted and barred in, to the no small mortification of my poor unfortunate body and bones.

Having now found that, from the losses I had sustained by Hassell, I was so embarrassed as to be obliged to call my creditors together and solicit them to have patience until I could pay them, I lost no time in accomplishing this necessary design, and procured from the most of them a licence for three years; but as many would not so far accommodate me, I was of course to put up with all the severity they could impose until they were taught, by the extent of the laws, they could go no further. After this digression it will appear the time is at hand when by quitting once more the kingdom, I have once more a prospect of happiness, and I now proceed to those days which, though attended with danger and distress, are much more esteemed by me than the miserable hours I have spent in fearful apprehensions of incivility from my creditors.

My ship having been taken into government service as a transport, and myself appointed as an agent through the interest of Mr. Nepean,[1] I quitted London November 13, 1793, and joined the fleet at Spithead under the command of Sir Charles Grey[2] and Sir John Jervis,[3] who was assembling a force to go against the French West India Islands, having given up to my creditors the full possession of all I was possessed of in the world, who had appointed Messrs. Abels, of Cloak Lane, and Mr. B. Wood, of Bishopsgate Street, as trustees to manage my affairs.

The 27th of this month the fleet sailed from St. Helens with his Majesty's ships Boyne, Vengeance, Veteran, and several frigates, with about six thousand troops in transports, and myself as agent in the Acorn under Captain Schank, the principal agent, who had under him Captain Osborne, Captain Mouatt, and eight lieutenants besides myself, all of whom were in different transports, divided into divisions and subdivisions. December 7 the Boyne, with the commanders-in-chief, left us under the Vengeance and Veteran, and parted from us with two ships having the frames of the gun-boats. We made the Canary Islands the 19th instant, and without meeting anything worthy of observation arrived at Barbadoes [on] January 10, 1794, after a passage of forty-four days, where we found the commanders

[1] Afterwards Sir Evan Nepean, Bart., at this time a commissioner of the privy seal, and secretary of the admiralty from 1795 to 1804. From 1780 to 1782 he had been purser of the Foudroyant, then commanded by Jervis, with whom he maintained very friendly relations.

[2] Lieutenant-General Sir Charles Grey, K.B., was raised to the peerage, as Baron Grey, in 1801, and advanced, in 1806, to be Earl Grey. He died, a general, in 1807.

[3] Sir John Jervis, K.B., created Earl of St. Vincent in 1797. Died, admiral of the fleet, in 1823.

in-chief, with a large fleet of ships of various descriptions, making every necessary and possible preparation for the attack of Martinique, which was only retarded from the want of the gun-boats, now setting up and building in Carlisle Bay and Bridgetown, during which time the troops were refreshed and reviewed in the field.

The service of the agents was particularly severe during our stay at Barbadoes, for the disembarking the soldiers every morning at three o'clock and embarking them again at eight, the necessary attendance to mustering, victualling, watering, and in every respect regulating such a number of transports full of troops, baggage, provisions and ammunition, kept us from morning to night on duty, and prevented us for several nights going to bed or being out of a boat.

At length, in the morning of February 3, we sailed from Carlisle Bay, Barbadoes, with his Majesty's ships Boyne, Vengeance, Irresistible, Dromedary, Experiment, Woolwich, Beaulieu, Blonde, Rattlesnake, Quebec, Nautilus, Vesuvius bomb and about ninety sail of transports. The morning was brilliant beyond conception, the sight grand above description. The bands of music, the sounds of trumpets, drums and fifes, the high panting ardour, zeal and discipline of the soldiers and sailors, the confidence in the warmth, bravery and experience of the commanders-in-chief, and, in short, the cause we were employed in, created an emulation not to be surpassed, and a true loyal joy not to be more than equalled.[1]

Now lawyers, bailiffs, constables, and all you

[1] The pages immediately following may be compared with *An Account of the Campaign in the West Indies in the year* 1794, by the Rev. Cooper Willyams, chaplain of the Boyne (4to. 1796).

myriads of iniquitous puzzling tribe, for a while adieu. No longer within your diabolical reach, or subject to your frowns or the capricious cruelty of unmerciful creditors, I am happy and contented. I go to pursue again the profession I was bred to, and would rather be a doorkeeper in any naval or military capacity than dwell within the rattling parchment house of the first counsellor in Great Britain; and soon I hope the French will again be obliged to surrender to us the fertile fruitful islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe.

In the morning of February 5, the island of Martinique being in sight, a division of the troops under General Dundas, assisted with the red division under Commodore Charles Thompson,[1] was directed to bear down for Trinité Bay, and to march from thence to Le Gros Morne, and the several small fortifications in their way across the island to Case Navire, and consisted of about two thousand light infantry and grenadiers, well appointed and all picked men. Another division of about fifteen hundred men under the command of General White, with a detachment of the white squadron under Captain Rogers in the Quebec, proceeded round the Diamond rock to Case Navire to be in readiness to co-operate with General Dundas, while the two commanders-in-chief with the main body of the fleet and army stood into Marin, or St. Anne Bay, having been joined this morning by his Majesty's ship Veteran. To this division I was appointed, and stood into the bay and anchored with the rest of the fleet, amidst a heavy fire from three batteries, which was silenced by the ships of war, and taken possession of by a detachment of light infantry. On the morning of the 6th the troops under Sir Charles

[1] Vice-admiral and second in command in the battle of St. Vincent; was created a baronet; died in 1799.

Grey was landed at Les Trois Rivières, and the Boyne sent a detachment of seamen to destroy the batteries and furnaces for heating shot, which had on our entering the bay much annoyed the ships. During the whole of this night we were employed in landing provisions and ammunition for the army, disembarking the troops from the Generous Friends transport, that had in the night ran ashore and was totally lost, and warping transports into places of safety.

On the 19th, Sir John Jervis, having seen the general, Sir Charles Grey, accommodated with provisions and ammunition, and marched off towards Pigeon Island with three thousand men, moved with the Boyne from off Borgnesse Point, round to the west side into Grande Anse d'Arlet, leaving the Veteran there to protect the transports. On the 10th I was dispatched with the two hospital ships to join the admiral, which I did that night, and in the morning marched from Little Arlet Bay[1] to Pigeon Island, which we were then cannonading, and which surrendered at eleven o'clock to the British arms with the loss only of five men wounded; the enemy's loss was twenty-two killed and twenty-four wounded; and was defended very gallantly. Upon the surrender of this important strong fortification I marched back to my ship and was directed to proceed with the Boyne into Fort Royal Bay, which we did on the morning of the 12th.

'The pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war' (as Othello describes it) appeared now in full blaze of awful beauty. The fleet beating into Fort Royal Bay with a heavy cannonade from forts and ships, our troops in sight on the hills over Case Navire under General White; the army of General

[1] Petite Anse d'Arlet.

Dundas on the hills at the back of Fort Bourbon, and the commander-in-chief marching at the head of the main body from Pigeon Island to join them, with all the bands of music joining in the indescribable scene of glory, formed such a morning as I had been a stranger to since I had seen some very similar ones in the war with America.

On the morning of the 13th I was directed to move from Anse à l'Asne to Grosse Pointe, and from thence directly after up to Cul-de-sac Cohé [1] off Pointe des Sablons,[2] between the rivers Jambette and Lamentin, where during the whole of the night a heavy fire was kept up by the enemy from Fort Royal and Bourbon with shot and shell, and returned by our gun-boats. A sally was also made on this night from Fort Bourbon with about a hundred men on an advanced guard of our army, and nineteen men with a captain was killed; the enemy lost fully that number notwithstanding the surprise, and retreated back to Fort Bourbon with the remainder, without effecting any very essential point. Captain Schank, in the Concord, Captain Osborne in the Parnassus, and myself in the Acorn, were the first three ships who beat up this intricate channel of the transports, and neither of us was furnished with pilots; yet though the night overtook us in our passage up, we all got up safe to an anchor. This was not the case with the next division of transports who were sent to join us; for the Intrepid, Lady Juliana, and Daniel, with some of much smaller burden, all got aground, and some of them remained on shore for one or two days; and I was directed by Captain Schank to attend the Daniel, which, when off, I brought safe to the head of the bay without any future [3] difficulty.

[1] Cohé du Lamentin. [2] Sand Point. [3] *Sc.* further.

The landing of the artillery and stores for the siege and reduction of Fort Bourbon, and attending to the bringing bread from the river Lamentin, occupied the first fortnight after our anchoring here; a constant and heavy fire of shot and shell was kept up night and day from Fort Bourbon at our working parties, and every possible preparation making to erect batteries against that garrison.[1] February 18, the town of St. Pierre, with the several forts and fortifications around it, was stormed and taken by the fleet and army under General Dundas, with the loss of that valuable officer Colonel Campbell; and a constant fire was kept up from Fort Royal and Bourbon to impede our operations at the several works going on against those important strong garrisons. At noon the 19th, the enemy made a sortie with their whole force in three columns on our army while they were defending us in landing and advancing up the hills with some cannon and ammunition; and happening myself to be at this period employed on shore, I joined the 31st light company, who was first attacked, and continued with them in the field till the action ended, when I sent off to my ship for some refreshment for the officers and men, as the heat of the day and the fatigue of the battle had made it both necessary and acceptable.

The consequences of this sally from Fort Bourbon had a very different effect than was intended by General Rochambeau; for the commander-in-chief, Sir Charles Grey, finding the black general, Bellegarde, advancing with an intention of seizing upon our landing-place, which was then full of artillery stores, and that the other part of the army was far

[1] As the seamen belonging to the transports were in private employ, there was a little difficulty about ordering them on this service; but James succeeded in overcoming it, in a manner which his modesty perhaps prevented his telling.—See App. D.

advanced to succour him in the design, in a very able and judicious manner commenced a general action with the whole force of the enemy, ordering at the same time the grenadiers to storm the heights of Sourrière and gain possession of this invaluable post, from whence we were to erect our batteries against the strong fortress of Bourbon. The action was fought with great perseverance on both sides, but chiefly by the enemy under cover of the woods; and our troops succeeded the better in consequence thereof, as they did not entertain an idea that the same time we defended our encampment from their attack we should attempt the difficult hills of Sourrière with charged bayonets. But this was the case, and the enemy fled on all sides and was pursued to their advanced works before Fort Bourbon, with the loss of two hundred and fifty killed and wounded; about twenty of the infantry was killed of the British army in the woods, and twenty grenadiers in the attack of the heights.

On February 20 I proceeded to Lamentin with several long boats and thirty seamen, to bring down sugar and rum from that river, supported with a detachment of the army under Lord Sinclair, who was quartered in that town, and from whom I must confess I received the greatest civility and attention. The following day I conducted upwards of a hundred French *émigrés* up the same river to the town, where they were appointed to stay till the reduction of Fort Bourbon enabled them to go to their several estates and properties. Among those were some of the first families in the island, and a number of most beautiful women, with whom I frequently spent a great many pleasant hours while on duty in that town, and to whom I had often an opportunity of being useful and friendly in their distressed situation.

On the 22nd Lieutenant ——,[1] of the Boyne, lost both his legs by a shot from the enemy's batteries, for which Sir John Jervis rewarded him with a master and commander's commission; but, poor fellow! he enjoyed it but a very short time, having died of lock-jaw a few days after. On this morning I carried the sick and wounded from Cul-de-sac Cohé to Pigeon Island Bay on board the hospital ships, and returned at midnight to the Acorn, after a service of the most distressing kind; and at daylight on the 23rd went to Lamentin with *émigrés*, and from thence to Fort Royal Bay with dispatches to the admiral: clearly perceiving that to be an agent of transports was to be a fag upon all boat service, and looked upon as an officer who had no kind of pretension or claim whatever to honour or glory, but that his extra pay was a sufficient recompense for any fatigue or hardship he might undergo. It was from too many circumstances of this kind that I began very early to be disgusted with the station, particularly when I found we could acquire no credit, however meritorious our deeds and actions were; and I formed from this period a fixed determination to get out of it so soon as possible, and to accomplish it the more readily, pushed myself as much as in my power to serve on shore or in any other way where I escaped the duty of an agent. And it was not long before an opportunity offered for me to indulge my wishes, as I understood from Captain Schank that the admiral had ordered a party of seamen to be landed from the transports to assist at the battery, which I immediately offered myself a volunteer upon, and was accordingly appointed to command a detachment of fifty-five seamen; and on March 6 I landed

[1] Blank in MS. James Milne, in Jervis's dispatch of Feb. 15, 1794. See also Willyams, 59–60.

at seven in the evening, and with provisions for a few days began our march from Cohé to the heights of Sourrière, which was a continued steep ascent for upwards of five miles.

Loaded as the people were with provisions and arms, and the weather being extremely wet and the roads steep and dirty, it was twelve o'clock before we reached headquarters, and then continued, wet and fatigued as we were, in the ditches with the picket guard on duty at the batteries until daylight in the morning. His Royal Highness Prince Edward[1] arrived from Halifax in a packet on this day, and was sent to Case Navire to command on that side, with the soldiers and seamen before under General Dundas; and at six o'clock all the batteries opened, consisting of six twenty-four pounders and two howitzers to the right; a mortar battery in the centre, and nine twenty-fours, to the left; exclusive [of] the batteries on the side of Case Navire, and the Vesuvius bomb and gun-boats from the sea. The effect of our fire on the works of Fort Bourbon was soon visible from the fall of houses and the show of frequent explosions from our shells, which hit them in all possible directions; but the enemy were not, however, deficient on their parts, for a most hot and incessant fire of shot and shells were kept up with the greatest vigilance the whole siege, and nothing on their parts was omitted to defend this important and strong garrison.

The 8th, in the evening, I was directed to march my people to the late encampment of the 75th Regiment, and take possession of some huts there for our quarters; but it was so dark, and we were so much fatigued before we reached the place, that we contented ourselves with sleeping on the grass, as

[1] Afterwards Duke of Kent.

the huts was filthy beyond description, and full of rats and vermin. At daylight on March 13 I received an order from Colonel Durnford, the chief engineer, whose command I was put under, to proceed to the left of the right battery and employ my men in cutting fascines for the works; which we did amidst a heavy fire till the night commenced, when I marched back to what we called our encampment to get some sleep and refreshment; but as we were all wet through, and no shelter for us until we built huts, we turned to and cut stuff to begin them the first fair day, so that our time for duty came on again before we really had any but stolen rest while in the woods.

The 14th continued also a wet, dirty day, all of which we were at a new battery of three eighteen-pounders that opened this morning; and while some were keeping up a hot fire the rest were making wads, from a mistake of twenty-four pound wads having been sent to the battery in lieu of eighteens; and after having had another severe day returned to our quarters, where we again employed ourselves about our huts. Our situation, it is natural to expect, would subject us to many inconveniences besides sickness; for of course we were at first in want of camp kettles, canteens, and almost every article wanting to make us get through our difficulties, which we however on this day accomplished; as from an application to Colonel Durnford we were not only supplied with those articles, but indulged with leave for a party to stay at our quarters and build huts, which we made, of course, out of canes and bamboos together with whatever we could filch from old houses. Having on this day also sent a party of men to the landing-place for several articles wanted on the occasion of our situation in the first three days, I took the opportunity of sending on

board four sick, and procuring from Captain Schank four others in their room. A sortie from Fort Royal was also made this day by the French, and I am sorry to say thirty of the light infantry killed.

The 15th it blew and rained very heavily, and the enemy, as well as the weather, much impeded our operations, which was however carried on with great spirit, though sickness now began to decrease our force and strength every minute, for it is not possible to describe the havoc and horror it occasioned. During the whole of this day we were cutting fascines, and without, I may venture to say, having had any of us a dry shirt or jacket for three nights and days; and I sent five men more on board sick, and had now also a little hospital for those I could not instantly remove.

The constant fire from the enemy's batteries, morning, noon and night, must of course have killed and wounded a great number of soldiers and sailors, but as I could have no opportunity of being correct with the account, I do not intend mentioning any but falls in some particular skirmish, or [when] an instance happens of a remarkable shot interfering with some curious circumstance; for it would too much swell my journal were I to mention all the execution that was minutely done, as no shot was scarcely fired but proved fatal in some instance.

On the 16th it continued to rain all day, and wet shirts, which were fortunately flannel, continued much in fashion in the woods all day; and in the night we could boast of tolerably tight huts, with dry canes to sleep on, a luxury we had been strangers to since our arrival at the camp of Sourrière. On the 17th, accompanied Colonel Durnford with a few seamen and a picket guard to reconnoitre the enemy's works, and advanced through a narrow path which we cut for the occasion to within eighty

yards of the works of their advanced redoubt, when, being discovered, we were obliged to retreat before the fire of their artillery. At noon I received orders to cut a road for our heavy guns and ammunition carts to pass towards this work, through the path before marked out; on which we continued till eight o'clock and then returned to our encampment. During this day, while at dinner in the eighteen-pound battery, from which we began the road, as about six officers of us were assembled round our scanty meal, a twenty-four pound shot knocked the captain of the picket guard's canteen from his side, and without any more mischief than spilling its invaluable contents of good grog, passed through the whole, and lodged in the side of the bank opposite to us; a second came soon after, and took off an artillery man's both legs.

At nine in the evening I returned to my little hut with my detachment of men, and supped most sumptuously off pilchards and potatoes, which I bought out of a packet, from one of the seamen, for the moderate sum of a guinea a pot, and eight dollars a hundred for potatoes; and after a feast which I enjoyed beyond everything I ever tasted, and a hearty suck from my canteen, I threw myself on my cloak and slept in peace till daylight, when I marched again to the battery and went on with the new road, a duty by no means pleasant, as the work was severe and the fire of the enemy constantly directed at us to impede the work.

At five this evening, March 18, completed the road to the river that runs at the back of Fort Royal, where I gave the men an hour to wash their clothes and refresh themselves in the cool stream; after which, marched back to our quarters and repaired our huts, the bad weather having greatly injured them.

The 19th was a fine dry day, which we had not experienced for some time; when we marched to the woods and cut fascines with one party, and cut another footpath more to the right of the old one; and at three in the afternoon again accompanied Colonel Durnford on a reconnoitring party close under the enemy's works, and at six returned to our quarters and sent a detachment on board with five sick men.

The morning of the 20th was again a rainy and disagreeable day, and we were ordered to the batteries to assist the artillery, where we marched at daybreak. The works of Fort Bourbon became so much battered at length, and the garrison so extremely feeble from most of their guns being dismounted, that their fire had considerably slackened, and our second line of works was in great forwardness to receive the cannon; when on this day, at eleven o'clock in the morning, a plan of attack having been formed previous thereto, Fort Royal was stormed sword in hand by the gallant Captain Faulknor and his officers and seamen, who ran his ship, the Zebra sloop of war, directly under the high and strong walls of the fort, and with scaling ladders, made on board the ships of bamboo, ascended the walls and took possession of this prodigious strong fortress with a very inconsiderable loss.

The greatest part of the soldiers and men that composed Fort Royal garrison fled up the hill to Fort Bourbon, while a heavy fire was kept upon them from all the batteries round till half-past two, when we received orders to cease, the enemy having sent in a flag of truce from Fort Bourbon to propose terms of capitulation. Our working parties still went on with the advanced works, and I was ordered to return to the woods to assist them with all the fascines we could possibly cut, which was done this

afternoon without much danger of either shot or shell.

The cessation of hostilities still continuing to the 23rd, but no terms immediately agreed on, I was employed as usual cutting fascines, and again sent four sick on board, constantly receiving fresh men in their room. At three o'clock on this afternoon, the articles having been signed, his Royal Highness Prince Edward took possession of the chief gate of Fort Bourbon with the grenadiers; while on our side the other two gates and the outworks was taken possession of by the light infantry and grenadiers from Sourrière; the enemy being permitted to keep possession of the inside of the garrison, upon surrendering the gates and allowing our artillery and engineer officers to be there to examine the artillery and works. On the 24th marched from the heights of Sourrière to Cul-de-sac Cohé, amidst a most horrid wet day, with my detachment of men, having very few, if any, who had marched up with me on March 6, and many of those who came last being extremely ill in fevers, so that it was late before I arrived on board.

March 25, in the morning, the enemy marched out of Fort Bourbon with colours flying and drums beating, through a line of the British soldiers and seamen, which extended from the garrison quite down to Fort Royal, where, embarking in boats, after laying down their arms, they were carried on board transports fitted for their reception to carry them to France. The garrison was taken possession of, and the National flag[1] struck and the British displayed with great ceremony, by his Royal Highness the Prince, at the head of the army and the seamen who had served on shore. And on this

[1] The flag of the French Republic was generally so called.

day I received orders to move the division of transports under my command from Cul-de-sac Cohé to Fort Royal Bay, and from thence landed with a party of men to embark the artillery against St. Lucia, preparation having instantly been made to attack that island.

On the 28th the admiral and general sent for me on board the Boyne, and appointed me by commission from under their hands, to sell and dispose of, with the assistance of a deputy and clerk, all the produce, &c., in the island of Martinique, assuring me that whenever there was a vacancy in the Boyne for a lieutenant 'he would take me on board and make me a captain.' The admiral had frequently flattered me with his good opinion of my services during the expedition, and now confirmed his friendship by this handsome appointment in addition to keeping me as resident agent at St. Pierre.

I accordingly went from Fort Royal to that town in my cutter on April 1, and having shown my commission to the agents, had a house and offices appointed for me in the middle of La Grande Rue, where my household consisted of a deputy, a clerk, a French housekeeper, valet, cook and two other female black servants; and thus situated I very comfortably jogged on during the time I was here, the whole of which was employed in attending sales, and disposing of French confiscated property.

The dreadful sickness that now prevailed in the West Indies is beyond the power of tongue or pen to describe. In a few days after I arrived at St. Pierre I buried every man belonging to my boat twice, and nearly all of the third boat's crew, in fevers; and shocking and serious to relate, the master, mate, and every man and boy belonging to the Acorn transport, that I came from England in, and had continued my pennant on board during the whole of the time

[illegible] The constant affecting scenes of [illegible] was in fact dreadful to behold, and [illegible] was scarcely to be met but funeral processions [illegible] of both officers and soldiers; and [illegible] was so extremely distressed that [illegible] almost all their officers [illegible]

[illegible] necessary to observe here that St. Lucia [illegible] was during this period taken. [illegible] about three thousand guineas during [illegible] St. Pierre. I went to Fort Royal [illegible] the admiral with my books [illegible] when he was pleased, as a [illegible] appoint me that day [illegible] the Bovne, and I joined her [illegible] the [illegible] situation I was in [illegible] the end to the com- [illegible] ships.

[illegible] having taken on [illegible] and his suite, we [illegible] Guadeloupe, where we [illegible] St. John's Road [illegible] Road. St [illegible] while she was [illegible] from thence for [illegible] from Guadeloupe [illegible] being dead [illegible]

[illegible]

board the Boyne while we were off that island on our way hither; and about an hour after another express arrived with an account of five sail of French frigates with some transports and fifteen hundred men having landed at Pointe-à-Pitre, and stormed and taken that place.

We immediately made sail for that island, and on the 8th anchored off the fortress of Fleur d'Epée, where, as well [as] in the town of Pointe-à-Pitre the Republican flag was again displayed. Immediate preparations were made to recover this important post, and ships dispatched to all the islands to collect the remains of our scattered fleet and army; for at this period we were so weakened by sickness and battle that all the troops in the Windward Islands were insufficient to form a complete garrison in Martinique alone, and it was therefore very difficult to be soon in force to attack those strong posts which the enemy had by surprise taken possession of, defended only by about one hundred British sick and disabled soldiers of the 43rd Regiment.

The enemy's force we now plainly discovered was two large frigates, two fifties armed *en flute*, and a corvette mounting eighteen guns, with two transports and about fifteen hundred troops, who had also been joined by a number of the inhabitants and negroes, and who was losing no time in throwing up additional works, and strengthening the old as much as time and circumstances would permit.

The Boyne, Vengeance, Vanguard, Veteran, Roebuck, Assurance, Winchelsea, Solebay, and Resource, with two or three sloops of war were now in the bay, with about fifteen hundred grenadiers and light infantry, the flower of the army, and without much opposition were landed with three hundred seamen, under the command of the Captains

Robertson and Sawyer, of the Veteran and Vanguard, a few days after our arrival. The heights adjoining to Fleur d'Epée having been taken possession of without much loss, the enemy quitted their works and marched out with their whole force to attack our camp, when a general action came on and lasted with great warmth for two or three hours, and when the enemy was beat back into Fleur d'Epée with the loss of about four hundred killed and wounded. Our loss did not exceed fifty, but among them was many valuable, good officers, who had served the whole of this campaign with the greatest credit. A truce was granted the enemy to bury their dead after the action, and every necessary preparation pursued immediately after for storming both Pointe-à-Pitre and Fleur d'Epée at once, and an additional number of seamen having been landed from the Boyne, under the Lieutenants Fahie,[1] Michell, Wolley, and Thompson, and divided among the several posts of the army. The force, consisting of eight hundred soldiers, and three hundred seamen under Captain Robertson and Lieutenants Wolley and Thompson, the whole forming a body of eleven hundred men, marched from the camp abreast Fleur d'Epée about one in the morning of July 2, towards the town of Pointe-à-Pitre, with proper guides on the occasion, commanded by Brigadier-General Symes, while Sir Charles Grey, with the remainder of the force, waited to attack Fleur d'Epée.

Thus was things situated at the period of their marching off; but unfortunately great blame was attached to the commanding officer of the force sent against Pointe-à-Pitre, who did not collect his force near the town before it was entered; but mistaking

[1] William Charles Fahie had been a lieutenant in the Zebra with Faulknor. He died, a vice-admiral and K.C.B., in 1833.

the road, harassing the men, and separated as they were at the distance of a mile from front to rear, the bugle horn was directed to be sounded and the seamen to advance and enter the town; at which period the enemy was apprised of the event, and under arms in all quarters of the town; the batteries on all the hills round manned, and the ships close into the town, with their broadsides pointed to the different streets that entered it; the doors and windows of the houses were filled with people under arms, and every possible trap laid that such an advantage would afford them or the fatal confidence the English in their valour and success had given them an opportunity of betraying them into. The consequences was fatal and distressing beyond description; a very [hot] fire commenced from all quarters in a minute, and a dreadful slaughter ensued. The British troops gave way on all sides; the sailors of course followed, and the whole was a scene of the utmost confusion.

Exposed in this precipitate and very irregular retreat to a shower of grape shot, and pursued by the whole force of the enemy for some miles, they were most shockingly cut up, and no doubt totally defeated from the want of the attack being better conducted by the officer who was sent to command it; in short, the day finished with eternal disgrace to forces who had never before met the most trivial defeat during the taking the French West India Islands. However, to conclude the account of this unfortunate attack of Pointe-à-Pitre, I am sorry to say that General Symes had his hand shot off, of which he soon after died. Colonel Gomme, Captain Robertson, who commanded the seamen, and two-thirds of the officers were killed; Lieutenant Wolley of the Boyne shot through the leg, and a vast number other officers wounded; and to sum up

[illegible]

an express, we made the best of our way to Martinique, where staying only one day, we again returned to Pointe-à-Pitre, and having come to an anchor too close in, the enemy opened a battery on us, which threw the shot considerably beyond us, and made it prudent for us to move further off shore, which we did in the night.

The 22nd we again sailed hence, and after cruising a few days off Marie Galante, we bore up under the lee of Dominica and proceeded to St. Pierre, Martinique; from thence the 28th, to Fort Royal, where we was aground about an hour in beating up to Trois Islets. On August 1 we was securely moored in this snug retreat, and yards and topmasts struck, and in every respect prepared for any weather that might attack us. During our stay here the duty was not by any means severe. Our sick, which amounted to about one hundred and fifty, the greatest part of which were dangerously ill of the yellow fever, was landed on a small island in this bay near the ship, and tents fitted for their reception, which most probably was the cause of saving those who was well on board; and notwithstanding our stay here was three months, our loss by sickness did not exceed thirty-seven, a number infinitely less than was lost in many of the sloops of war; but this good fortune was chiefly owing to Dr. Weir, our surgeon, who unquestionably possessed abilities equal, if not superior, to most of the medical gentlemen in the army or navy at that time in the West Indies.

As one or two of the lieutenants had permission to be absent from the ship for a week or ten days at a time, I took an opportunity of visiting St. Pierre, which was about ten leagues from the Boyne; where I spent a fortnight among my old friends with much satisfaction, and gained additional health and strength from my little excursion. I also frequently visited

the old town of Lamentin, but found no remains of the genteel inhabitants that was there during the siege, who were gone to their several estates and homes. A very good market was held on board every day while here for the benefit of the ship's company, and all kinds of fruit, vegetables, and milk was in abundance, but little fresh meat, which we served to the people about once a week.

During the Boyne's remaining here, the admiral spent most of his time at St. Pierre with Sir Charles Grey; and a hurricane happened in August which did considerable damage to Fort Royal and the adjacent country, but did not affect us in the least at Trois Islets. Among our losses while at Trois Islets by death were several very promising young gentlemen and a surgeon's mate who attended the sick on the island; and Lieutenant Fahie was made a captain by the death of the captain of the Woolwich, which removed me up to fourth lieutenant. The situation of our camp at Berville becoming extremely precarious from the loss of men by sickness and the growing strength of the enemy, we were obliged to leave Trois Islets so early as September 25; and on the 27th we took the admiral on board at St. Pierre, and proceeded to Pointe-à-Pitre, where we found the camp in great danger from the enemy having landed a body of men at Petit Bourg and surrounded them.

All kind of communication was now cut off between the army and the navy, and every effort to relieve them with the force we had proved totally impracticable, and we had the mortification to see the army surrender prisoners of war to the French, after a severe action in which General Graham was wounded, and several brave officers and men killed. No possible terms of safety being procured for two hundred and fifty loyalists taken with the camp,

they were the following day guillotined, and put to a cruel death by being shot and inhumanly killed in a ditch by negroes; and horrid as the fact is, I cannot help taking notice of a more than savage act executed upon one of the most beautiful women in the island. This lady, whose husband was a rich planter of about twenty thousand a year, and had two of their young children murdered in their presence, was at this period big with child; and was in a most horrid barbarous manner cut open alive, the child taken from her womb, her body filled with rum, the child put back again in her body, and then the whole set on fire; they exulting in having done a deed never before equalled by devils themselves. The husband, with a wound in his right arm, and a little boy of six years old, his only son, in his left hand, escaped on board the Boyne in a most strange, miraculous manner.[1]

The part of the island called Grande-Terre as well as all the eastern part of Guadeloupe being now in possession of the enemy, and the town of Basse-Terre on the west side, which alone was in our possession, being also in great danger, we proceeded immediately round with the Boyne to assist General Prescott in the defence of Fort Matilda, which was in a weak and defenceless state, with only a garrison of three hundred men. The general having requested the admiral's assistance of men from the ships of war, and orders having been given for fifty men to land from the Boyne and Terpsichore frigates, I solicited the admiral to be a volunteer on that service and was appointed to command the detachment. On October 14, at four o'clock in the afternoon, the enemy having appeared on the heights to attack the garrison, I received my orders to land,

[1] According to Willyams (pp. 135, 137), 300 of the French royalists were butchered on this occasion.

and marched into the fort through the sea sally-port at sunset, where I received orders from Lieutenant-General Prescott to serve with the artillery. At seven a lieutenant, two midshipmen, and eighteen seamen joined me from the Terpsichore, with orders to put themselves under my command. The night was wet and dirty, and we slept that evening in an old shed upon our cloaks.

In the morning of the 15th, divided the men into three divisions, and sent them to move two thirteen-inch mortars towards the direction of the enemy's encampment, and also to convey some nine-pounders from the bottom of the works to the upper SW angle; after which I appointed men to their different batteries for the night, keeping two divisions constantly at their quarters all night with the artillery men, and taking the duty jointly with Lieutenant Bromwich of the Terpsichore and the officers of the artillery; and this night had very good barracks allowed us near the general, who took all possible care to provide us with what the garrison afforded. On the 16th, the enemy was employed in mounting guns on Morne Houel,[1] while our batteries was constantly playing on them to impede their operations; and the scene was very suddenly changed from so lately besieging the garrison of Fort Bourbon, to being ourselves besieged in Fort Matilda, but with this disadvantage, that we had neither men nor works in proportion to their situation at that time, nor was the fifth part of the number against Fort Bourbon compared with those now attacking us, as they were at least, when assembled, upwards of fifteen thousand against about four hundred and fifty in the garrison. However, we had a good, brave, and able general, and had been practised a good deal in attacking and

[1] Houelmont.

defending for the last nine months with some success, and, I must confess, also a share of disappointment and defeat.

I shall suppose that from the 16th to the 20th the service was nearly the same; for on the part of the enemy they were intent only on erecting and completing their works and batteries, while we was constantly employed cannonading them, and preventing all in our power their approaches. However, they effected about this time the cutting off our water, and kept us upon putrid tank water that had been there for many years as a reservoir and receptacle for rats and all kinds of filth and vermin; and no sooner did we begin to drink this water, but the garrison was seized with a severe flux that weakened our strength very considerably, and carried off a number of men, independent of the yellow fever.

At four in the morning of the 20th the enemy opened a battery of two guns on the garrison, which kept playing on us all the day and did us some inconsiderable mischief; but as we returned a very hot fire from the several guns that could be brought on them, their situation became too warm to do that execution which they would otherwise have done had they not been so annoyed with our fire. A deserter that came in from them this day informed us that our fire at Morne Houel had killed upwards of a hundred of the enemy, and that the wounded were very considerable indeed. But those were trivial advantages, where the loss of one man in the garrison was of more consequence to us than a hundred and fifty to the besiegers, whose force was not only excessively strong indeed, but which was increasing rapidly every hour; while sickness and havoc were every day reducing the few men that composed the garrison. The weather was remarkably hot and sultry, and in all parts of the works the stench and

smells were intolerable; for until the enemy came against Basse-Terre none of our troops, except a guard, had inhabited Fort Matilda since it was taken from the French by us in April. The fresh meat we had been served was mere carrion, for all the cattle was confined to the ditches by day, where there was little picking for so many, and by night they were driven constantly into the garrison to prevent their being cut off by the besiegers.

On Tuesday, the 21st of this month, at daylight, the enemy opened another battery on us of three twenty-four pounders in front, which with Morne Houel battery never ceased cannonading from daylight to sunset, but which we returned with a very heavy fire of shot and shells from every quarter we could bring guns to bear on them. Our trouble, difficulty, and distress of course hourly increased in every respect, and the duty was naturally becoming every minute more severe, in proportion to the advances the enemy made and the cannon they opened upon us. I am sorry to observe that a seaman belonging to the Terpsichore deserted to the enemy on this day, and that two more was taken ill of fevers. I also received a set of signals from the general, which had been sent from Sir John Jervis, which was calculated to convey the admiral and general's wishes to each other, as well as to inform either of the approach of an enemy or the want of assistance; and I appointed two careful men to attend solely to them by night and day, and was furnished with all the requisites on the occasion from the Boyne.

It is with much concern I am obliged to mention a second deserter from the Terpsichore to the enemy, as also two grenadiers from the 60th Regiment; and the more so, as we were daily weakened by the seamen falling sick, and in great want of artillery men.

Some few of the soldiers was wounded of the 65th on this morning, when the enemy opened their batteries, and a seaman belonging to the Boyne lost his leg. These trivial circumstances, and the knocking down part of the barracks, dismounting some of our guns at Dundas's battery, and a never-ceasing fire, were of course the natural consequences of a besieged garrison. I shall therefore pass on to October 25, with remarking that an additional battery opened on us this day to the left, and several artillery men were wounded, with some few soldiers, and one seaman belonging to the Terpsichore.

The 26th, in the evening, the general directed Captain King of the artillery to throw carcasses, from the mortar battery without the gates, into the hospital and endeavour to burn it, as the enemy appeared to have a party lodged behind with some intention of carrying on works under its cover. I was also directed to accompany Captain King with a party of seamen armed with pikes, to defend him in case of an attack, as also to assist in working the mortars. We accordingly moved into the outworks at dusk with Captain King, four artillery men, myself, and thirty seamen, with seven thirteen-inch carcasses; and so soon as the drawbridge was hauled up to secure the garrison after we had reached the battery, the first carcass was immediately thrown without success; as was also four more with as little satisfaction as the former; and Captain King, whose abilities and bravery as an officer was very conspicuous throughout the siege, began to be unhappy from the ill success that attended his exertions, when I proposed to him, as the only sure way of succeeding, to carry the other two carcasses up to the hospital and set them on fire in each wing. He strongly argued against the impropriety of disobeying our orders, but seemed so pleased with the proposition

after a long and mature consideration of the whole [illegible] and bad consequences, and not wishing that any [illegible] however rash and dangerous it might appear [illegible] should disappoint the general's wishes, he at [illegible] consented to the business; and being [illegible] acquainted with the road, we marched [illegible] led by Captain King, and followed by [illegible] at the head of my seamen, the two [illegible] being brought in the rear by the four [illegible] lighted matches and every other [illegible] the destruction of this noble [illegible]

[illegible] a very ludicrous circumstance [illegible] about the moment we arrived [illegible] Captain King, seeing [illegible] in the gate, and the [illegible] his hand back for us to [illegible] braying of [illegible] our pikes and [illegible] having found [illegible] the square and [illegible] set fire to [illegible] building, which [illegible] effectual. [illegible]

the fort, and found that the general supposed we had burnt it[1] by throwing the carcasses from the mortar battery; but notwithstanding he was pleased that it was destroyed, yet he also expressed his displeasure at the manner and the risk we had run, forbidding us ever in future to hazard such an enterprise on pain of his disapprobation and censure.[2]

A mortar battery of the besiegers opened on the 27th in the morning, and their fire from all sides generally continued to their dinner time, which was noon, and opened with fresh violence again about three, which was the period we took an opportunity of eating ours, as they mostly slackened their fire again about four and went on with their works. The fever continued to rage among us now with distressing violence, and its effects became more fatal from the want of medicine and proper diet, nor did the horrid putrid water we drank a little contribute to the distress of the garrison. But a more melancholy story than all happened on this day. All our cattle amounting to about sixty-five head, which had been sent out as usual to the ditches to feed, was, from the carelessness of the cattle guard, cut off by the enemy, with the deputy commissary and one negro, who was taken prisoners and very severely treated.

The 28th the weather was intolerable hot and sultry, the fire of the French extremely severe, and the duty beyond description fatiguing and distressing. Three seamen was this day very badly wounded, and a number of the army; but as I could not be correct in a statement of the killed and wounded each day, except with the seamen under my command, I am obliged to refer sometimes back, from

[1] *Sc.* the hospital.

[2] Willyams (p. 142) assigns the whole credit of the affair to James and his party of seamen.

finding losses had happened which naturally I did not hear had taken place till the officers of the regiment had mentioned it to me in conversation; for the garrison was so extensive that we scarcely knew in one part what those in the other was about. About sunset on this evening, custom having made it habitual for the cattle to come to the garrison, notwithstanding the short allowance they got, about twenty head was seen walking among the bushes toward the gates, when a company of infantry was immediately sent out who fortunately restored to us that number amidst a heavy fire from the enemy. A flag of truce was also sent in on this evening from the besiegers, to complain of some violation having been committed in the town by our soldiers' wives, which, wearing too much the appearance of truth, occasioned a woman to be confined in the guard-house till the affair was investigated more fully.

The 29th, the besiegers having considerably increased their fire, and the garrison having become proportionably weakened from sickness and fatigue, the general made a request to the admiral for a further supply of seamen; but the ships of war being very short of complement, and half those on board being down in fevers, the request could not be complied with, unless the ships of war were left in a defenceless state, which was not judged prudent by either the general or admiral.

The 30th was a perfect calm and distressing hot day, and it was scarcely possible in the heat of noon to stand to our guns at Dundas's battery; yet on this very morning were we put to an allowance of water, which, though but barely drinkable from its putrid state, was however severely felt by both soldiers and seamen. A flag of truce was this day sent to the enemy in answer to one to the

admiral, after which a very heavy fire was kept up [by] the besiegers, which occasioned us the loss of one killed and five wounded of the seamen at the batteries.

The 31st the enemy was busily employed mounting two thirteen-inch mortars which they had found spiked in the town, and left by us when we retreated into Fort Matilda; and an immense number of men was employed in every quarter bringing forward their works and ammunition for some serious design; while, on the other hand, the garrison was intent upon as heavy a fire as possible, to retard their operations until the arrival of a reinforcement from England, which we were taught soon to expect, and on this night half the garrison was ordered to be constantly under arms. The advantages usually derived from deserters we were totally deprived of; our situation was too deplorable for any to engage in but those who were directly actuated by a principle of love and veneration for their king and country; nor could we by any means, or through any channel, gain the smallest information of the besiegers' strength, manœuvres, or designs, so that from what we saw from the works we nightly expected a storm with their whole force, which, by keeping us constantly under arms in the night, weakened and distressed us amazingly.

All the glass we could muster was thrown into the ditch round the garrison to impede their storming, well knowing they did not abound in shoes and stockings; and kegs of hand grenades was also placed on the top of the works ready to tumble, on their advancing to storm, amidst the most daring assailants. Thus did matters stand with little variation until the morning of November 5, and with the loss only of a few soldiers wounded; but, as if they had chosen this memorable day for their grand and

serious attack, did they without any other consideration seem intent on being completely ready to try the effect of their whole force and strength; for on the sun rising that morning they opened such a fire as I had seldom before, in the many sieges and battles I had been engaged in, ever saw equalled. Six different heavy gun batteries, two small howitzer batteries, and two thirteen-inch mortars from another, opened on us within a minute of each other at sunrise. No part of the garrison was safe; the barracks of all descriptions were tumbling on our heads; hot shot was flying in all directions; killed and wounded men were lying in all parts of the works, and the whole garrison was a scene of distress and devastation.

I found it necessary to save the few clothes I had in my room, which was then a heap of ruins, and took six seamen with me to remove them into the bomb proofs; during which at least a dozen twenty-four-pound shot went through the house, and one of them took off the tail of a hair cap I wore, and two others passed through my clothes hanging up in my room; yet did I fortunately get off with my clothes and stock of grog, which was become so necessary and scarce an article that it was not to be dispensed with, though the enemy had doubled, if possible, their fire. Three of my best seamen was this day killed, and another lost his arm, and one shot alone killed two soldiers and wounded ten others. General Prescott himself had a part of his hat shot off his head with a grape shot, and, in short, the whole garrison was a heap of ruins.

Nothing was expected this night but a storm, and the whole garrison, fatigued and harassed as they were, was under arms round the works all the night, while every gun in it was kept cannonading the whole time. Amidst this severe business the

cattle was again neglected, and once more fell into the enemy's hands, and never after recovered, so that pork and peas, and peas and pork, with new rum and stinking water became at last our only comforts. On the morning of the 6th, perceiving the effects of their fire, and naturally concluding they had gave us a sufficient proof of their strength, they sent in a flag of truce with a summons for us to surrender in two hours, or to take the fatal consequence of an immediate storm, when every individual was, agreeable to the rules of war, to be put to instant death. To this haughty message our brave general returned for answer, 'that as he was entrusted with the command of that garrison by the king, his master, and had nothing to dread from the force against him, he would defend the works to the last moment.' An hour being allowed for the flag to return and everybody again at quarters, we commenced hostilities from Dundas's battery with the artillery and seamen, and the day was as usual spent in a hot and brisk cannonade on both sides. The 7th commenced with the fire of an additional battery, and several men was killed and wounded; and on the 8th, the sick and wounded, the women and children, were all sent on board the ships of war; and the artillery and seamen chiefly employed in mounting guns at Dundas's battery from other parts of the garrison, in the room of those dismounted by the enemy's fire, and two seamen and four artillery men were (this at noon) killed at the above battery.

On the 9th, another soldier, belonging to the 60th Regiment, deserted to the enemy, and two seamen lost each an arm, one of which, being extremely weak, died directly after; and men from the Boyne and Terpsichore was sent on shore to replace the killed and wounded. Great anxiety was now expressed respecting our long-talked-of reinforce-

batteries, distinguished by that name, was in a central line with Morne Houel and the White House, and consisted of two gun batteries, and two howitzer batteries adjoining nearly to them. Two other batteries was opened to the right, nearer to the sea, and fresh works was throwing up in every point from south to north round the east side of the compass; and at this battery, which I observed we was quartered at, was that great and high distinguished officer, Lieutenant-General Dundas, buried, and from which the battery took its name.[1]

Having given a faint account of our situation and that of the enemy, I shall proceed to the 11th day of this month, which as usual was a day of bombardment and hot cannonading on all sides, as well from us as the besiegers, and some soldiers was killed and wounded; but as the army continued of course under bomb-proofs all day, except the usual guards, it was not possible for so many of them to suffer as the seamen, in proportion to their numbers; as we were constantly at the batteries night and day, with the artillery, working the guns and throwing shells; while during the night the soldiers was distributed to the best advantage to defend the garrison in case of a storm. And a circumstance

[1] It is said that after the French had retaken Guadeloupe, the French general, Victor Hugues, ordered Dundas's body 'to be dug up and given a prey to the birds of the air;' and on the site of the grave, a monument to be erected, at the expense of the Republic, with the inscription :—'This ground, restored to liberty by the valour of the republicans, was polluted by the body of Thomas Dundas, major-general and governor of Guadeloupe for the bloody King George III.' (*D.N.B.* s.n. Dundas, Thomas; Willyams, p. 148). The actual decree cannot now be found; but others, in the Public Record Office (*Admirals' Dispatches, Leeward Islands*, vol. 13), couched in language equally brutal, are strong evidence of the truth of the statement. There is a monument to Dundas in St. Paul's Cathedral, erected at the public cost by a vote of Parliament.

happened about midnight that put the whole garrison under arms in two minutes. The captain of the night going his rounds conceived he saw a large body of the enemy entering the outworks and marching into the ditches, and instantly alarmed the general and the whole garrison by beating to arms, who all immediately repaired to their posts to attack the assailants, which was, by those called from sleep, supposed to be already in the works. I was myself at this time on duty at Dundas's battery, and was astonished when I saw the other division of seamen marching up to join me with their pikes, and upon inquiry of the cause was told the French was storming upon every side, and from every quarter. I ordered the first division to quit their guns and handle their pikes, and, with the soldiers who was quartered with us at this battery, momentarily expected to see the enemy appear in great force upon our walls; but after an hour's apprehension of having all our throats cut in a minute, an officer was sent to inform us that it was a false alarm, and the captain who was innocently the cause received a very severe rebuke from the general.

The second division of seamen, with the third also, that was posted in those cases of a storm at the hospital battery under Lieutenant Bromwich, of the Terpsichore, was ordered back to their barracks, and I again commenced a fire from Dundas's battery with the first division. From this day to the 13th the enemy was intent on carrying quantities of plank and casks from the town to their works, upon which a fire was kept from the lower batteries all day; for although we had so far the command of the town as to prevent their occupying any part of it, yet we could not prevent their supplying themselves with those articles, which were generally collected by a few negroes in the first place under cover of ruins.

And their general, Victor Hugues, had by his last flag of truce assured General Prescott that if the town was burnt, or any ammunition destroyed on our evacuating the fort, that the lives of the British soldiers and sailors taken at Berville camp should answer it with their lives.

I had, from my first coming into the garrison, messed with the officers of the 35th Regiment, and we now eat our dinner in one of the water tanks, which was bomb-proof, but where pork and very bad peas was our only fare; nor had we at this time any but excessive bad rum, and a small allowance of that, which, mixed with such water as I have before described, was enough to kill the devil had he been allowed to serve in the garrison with us.

On the 14th, early in the morning, we saw three strange sail of the line bearing down on the Boyne, which at first greatly alarmed us, but which we soon learned to be his Majesty's ships Majestic, Bellona, and Theseus, of seventy-four guns each, under Vice-Admiral Caldwell[1] of the blue, which on our first seeing rejoiced us exceedingly, but when we found they had brought us no reinforcement we felt a disappointment not to be equalled. The besiegers increased as much as possible their fire on seeing those ships, and we were indebted to our friends for as warm a thrashing this day as we had experienced since November 5.

[1] Benjamin Caldwell commanded the Agamemnon in Rodney's action of April 12, 1782, and—as rear-admiral of the red—took part in the battle of June 1, 1794. His name was, however, omitted from the list of those recommended for the gold medal; and though now sent out to the West Indies as commander-in-chief, he was superseded within the year. He neither applied for nor accepted any further employment; and not till after the accession of George IV. did he receive a tardy reparation of the wrong, and was nominated a G.C.B. He died a few months later, in November 1820.

The 15th it blew very strong with hard rain, and we were employed all this night throwing up a traverse at Dundas's battery to protect the remaining few guns left us; and a sloop also arrived from Dominica with a quantity of porter, potatoes and onions, which the council and assembly of that island sent as a present to the garrison in consideration of our distressed situation, which was received with gratitude by all, and afforded each officer and seaman fourteen quarts of beer and six pounds of potatoes and onions, which, though but a temporary relief, was extremely acceptable. Another soldier of the 60th deserted to the enemy on this day, and a small reinforcement was thrown into the garrison from Martinique, consisting of forty artillery men, which was a most fortunate event, as we were greatly distressed for those very useful men.

The 16th, our water becoming short, the general directed a covering party to attend the people without the sea sally-port while they filled such vessels as they could carry with river water, and blacks and one soldier of a mess were only allowed to go out upon this occasion; but the deserter who left the garrison yesterday having acquainted the besiegers that such a plan was intended, they secreted a large body of men behind some old houses near the river, and so soon as our people had began to fill their vessels, the enemy opened a heavy fire of musketry on them and wounded a great number, some of which were mortal; but a heavy fire having immediately opened from the batteries of the garrison, they were soon dislodged with some considerable loss. The usual cannonade was kept up on both sides all this twenty-four hours, and the period was advancing when the most fatal consequences were to be apprehended for the safety of the garrison; for it could not be expected that, with our daily

misfortunes and the havoc among the works, we could long withstand the attack of a force so very formidable as that of the besiegers, particularly as all communication would most likely be cut off in a few days between the garrison and the ships of war, as batteries were erecting for that purpose to the right and left near the sea, and the ships had already been driven to sea by them.

On the 17th, the Ramillies, of seventy-four guns, joined the fleet off this garrison, having landed Sir John Vaughan at Martinique, who came out to relieve Sir Charles Grey, but brought no troops. The admirals, Sir John Jervis, Bart.,[1] Caldwell and Thompson, with six ships of the line, one forty-four and a frigate, was now cruising off Basse-Terre, and the garrison more warmly than ever attacked by the besiegers, who dreaded much our receiving a reinforcement; but we were at this time so situated that nothing but an army to march out of sufficient strength to beat the besiegers could relieve Fort Matilda, the last and only spot held by us in Guadeloupe, which, with any number of men to defend it, was by no means judged tenable by either the general or the chief engineer; which makes it surprising that the French should have chosen such an improper spot to expend so much time and treasure upon, as it was supposed to have cost them many millions, and was only useful towards the sea, as every hill, which I before observed, commanded it effectually. The watering party was this day sent out as usual through the sally-port, the south battery having all been manned previous thereto, and the houses and bushes scoured with grape and canister-shot, which having produced the desired effect, a considerable quantity of water was brought

[1] In mistake. Jervis was a K.B., but not a baronet.

in, sufficient to last the garrison at least twenty-four hours, and was really a great luxury after drinking the vile stuff from the tanks.

The 18th I lost two seamen killed and one died of fever; about fifteen more were sick, and, although our detachment of fifty had been frequently recruited from the ships to supply the number killed and wounded, yet twenty-two only remained this day; and as, from the number of sick out of those, it was impossible for us to form one division, the general represented to the admiral the necessity of another supply, which induced him to order us to be relieved from the Bellona and Ramillies, as the Boyne, from sickness and disembarking men on service for the shore, was so reduced as not to be able to work the ship with either prudence or safety; and, upon my offering to stay with the command of the men that were to be landed, I was informed that the Boyne was going immediately to England, and that I must prepare on the following night to embark with my people. November 19 we continued as usual at our batteries; and as it was to be the last day, the seamen exerted themselves, all hands, the whole day at their guns, and one poor fellow lost his thigh so high up that he died in a few hours after it was cut off. At length the evening arrived when we were called to embark, and although we were going to leave a place of the greatest distress, yet I am persuaded the seamen as well as myself felt unhappy in taking leave of the general and whole garrison, with whom for thirty-seven days we had fought and endured the greatest fatigue and hardship, never having taken off our clothes except to shift, and that very seldom, nor slept on anything for most of the time but a hard plank at our quarters.

Having received a very handsome and flattering certificate from the general, and taken my leave of

him and the officers of the garrison, I marched my people through the sea sally-port to the beach at eight o'clock, where the boats of the Terpsichore landed to embark us; but the enemy, learning from some of their advanced parties in the town that we were making a move with boats, opened fire of cannon and musketry on us, which very fortunately did us no mischief, and we arrived on board that frigate, which was close in shore, in about ten minutes. Captain Bowen,[1] of whom my speaking in praise can avail nothing after what the general has said of him, stood so close in to receive us and land the seamen that was to relieve us in the fort that, about ten minutes after we got on board, the Terpsichore, being becalmed, struck the shore and fell into the breakers on the beach, not more than pistol-shot from the town, and exposed to several of the enemy's batteries to the left of the garrison. This was plump 'out of the frying-pan into the fire,' for, besides the dread of losing the ship and becoming prisoners, we every moment expected to be knocked to pieces with the fire of the besiegers. Captain Bowen directed me to go out to sea in the jolly-boat in quest of the Boyne, to acquaint the admiral of his situation and to procure his assistance. After running out at least fifteen miles I fortunately

[1] Richard Bowen, a lieutenant of the Boyne, had been promoted for brilliant conduct at the reduction of Martinique, and in command of the Terpsichore was specially appointed to attend on and support the garrison of Fort Matilda, on which service he won the highest approval of both Prescott and Jervis. On his return to Europe he again distinguished himself by the capture of the Spanish frigate Mahonesa on Oct. 13, of the French frigate Vestale on Dec. 12, 1796 (James's *Naval History*, i. 398, 402), and his gallant attempt to secure the Santisima Trinidad after the battle of Cape St. Vincent (*ib.* ii. 57). He was killed in the disastrous attack on Santa Cruz, on July 24, 1797; 'than whom,' wrote Nelson, 'a more enterprising, able, and gallant officer does not grace his Majesty's naval service.'

[illegible] blowing off shore [illegible] Having acquainted [illegible] of the Terpsi- [illegible] by his making [illegible] and about [illegible] which I still [illegible] on the beach. [illegible] by starting [illegible] anchor and [illegible] her sail to [illegible] means, [illegible] went off when [illegible] House battery [illegible] and at eight [illegible] And on the [illegible] at Martinique [illegible] Sir Charles [illegible] we sailed [illegible] passed the old [illegible] which [illegible] at the be- [illegible] we was in [illegible]

[illegible]

more distressing to us who had been so long broiling in the West Indies. On December 28, my birthday, I dined in the cabin with the admiral, and therefore nothing very material happened to relate of that day. I shall therefore observe that, having made Ireland twice, and without our knowledge having passed through the French fleet in the night—which we had taken for a British convoy—distressed for provisions in the extreme, not having but one day's allowance for the ship's company and living in the wardroom totally on pork and peas, having one hundred and twenty sick and a hundred and fifty short of our complement, and, to conclude, all of us weak and indisposed with severe colds, we reached Plymouth Sound on January 8, 1795, after a passage of forty-two days, twenty of which we had been beating in the Channel with strong foul gales and bitter cold weather.

I confess myself grateful to Providence for my safe arrival once more in England, conceiving that out of about ten thousand soldiers and sailors which left Europe in the fleet from Spithead on November 27, 1793, I was one of about five hundred that ever lived to see again this happy shore, for which I am most particularly thankful, and shall study to deserve a continuance of His mercies, with faith, hope, and charity.

It is not wonderful that after such an absence from Europe, and living so long on salt pork and peas, that we should all be eager 'to enjoy the blessings of the land with the fruits of our labours;' but perhaps it may [be] going too far to do it to the extent that some of us did; for myself, Lieutenant Dixon, and Lieutenant Ferguson of the marines, with one of the midshipmen, were left behind at Plymouth when the Boyne sailed for Portsmouth, and Ferguson and myself sat off the day after in a

chaise to join her. This, however improper, was in some measure excusable and far from being unpleasant; the journey was excessively agreeable, though the weather was extremely cold and the hills covered with snow; but as I conceived from the winds that we should arrive at Portsmouth before the ship, I prevailed on my messmate and fellow-traveller to accompany me on to London, and I arrived at my house in Prince's Street, Rotherhithe, on January 18, 1795, after an absence from my family of fourteen months and five days. I quitted London again on the 20th and joined the Boyne the day after her arrival at Spithead, just in time to make my bow to Admiral Sir John Jervis, when he struck his flag and quitted the ship to go to London.

From this time to the latter end of April we was employed in refitting the ship for sea at Spithead, which the severity of the winter much retarded; but she was, however, completely ready by this time, with four months' provisions in, and every way the finest ship of her rate in the fleet then riding at that port. During this interval of time I had four times permission to visit my family in London, and was generally absent about ten days at a time; but I must now make a digression, and touch a little upon my private affairs, as they will be found necessary to connect this chain of adventures, and account for an innumerable number of misfortunes which still continued to persecute me.

I have before mentioned my losses by the failure of Mr. F. Hassell, by whom I lost a sum not found now to be, with law cost and interest, less than five thousand pounds; and I also mentioned my creditors having mostly signed a release for three years, taking my property as a security for my debt to them; but there was a few who did not comply

with this friendly system, who immediately commenced fresh actions against me, and I was several times again arrested, and bailed by my worthy and good friend, Mr. Benjamin Wood, of Bishopsgate Street, one of my trustees. I had faithfully remitted upwards of three thousand pounds to the friendly part of my creditors, which was all I made while abroad; and therefore was unable to answer all the other demands on me on my arrival from the West Indies; but the property being deemed sufficient for my debt when it was six thousand pounds, was surely much more so when reduced to three. But this had no effect on those who were not bound by signing the deeds for three years; and though they were ungenerous enough to continue their persecutions, yet they were not allowed by my friends to keep me in custody. In this very unpleasant state I remained, momentarily expecting fresh insults, and bearing my misfortunes with the most Christian-like patience and resignation, often wishing myself however again in Fort Matilda. I must now take an opportunity of remarking, that by the arrival of the Terpsichore with General Prescott from Guadeloupe, we found that he had evacuated Fort Matilda on December 10, being obliged so to do from the enemy's approaches and the defenceless state of the garrison, which was become a complete heap of ruins and no longer tenable; and that he effected this without much loss under cover of the Terpsichore, exactly three weeks after I quitted the fort; so that I did not consider myself much distressed from the painful feeling I had formed of not being able to remain there for its protection with the rest.

The first of May was a day fixed on for Mrs. James and a party of ladies to dine on board the Boyne, having arrived at Gosport from London the

I left 'sole proprietor in my own right' of this heavenly mansion, where I entertained myself with scribbling nonsense by the half-minute glass, and consoled myself with the hope of soon being again released from gaol.

But scarce had I been confined within the narrow limits of this dismal cell, but the diabolical keeper thereof entered to ask me if I knew the news. Having answered him in the negative, he told me 'the Boyne was all in flames.' Judge, if it is in your power, how this speech 'harrowed up my soul,' and what I must have felt situated as I then was. In vain did I beseech this iron-hearted fiend, who stood with the key in his hand, to release me for an hour to go to the assistance of my shipmates, taking Mrs. James as a pledge for my return; but as well might I have hoped for mercy from the savage army of Victor Hugues at Guadeloupe, had I fell into their hands, as expected pity from the cruel soul of a bailiff. The flames was rapidly increasing, the loaded guns going off, and multitudes of people flying from all quarters to view the awful, yet grand catastrophe. At five o'clock in the evening this noble ship, completed for sea with provisions and stores of all kinds for four months, blew up and disappeared in an instant, but the magnificence of the scene was beyond all possible description. No pen can paint the ascended cloud of smoke, nor the most fertile imagination conceive the real splendour of the sky. 'The earth shook and trembled, the foundations of the hills also seemed to move and were shaken, and there went up a smoke fearful to behold,' yet compassed about with magnificence not to be described. Thus was I situated on this day when this unfortunate accident happened, and when I lost all my clothes, books, charts, instruments, and weapons of every

description, to the amount of at least four hundred guineas.

It is necessary I should say that the accident happened from the marines exercising on the poop, by a cartridge having been blown into the admiral's quarter gallery, which, lodging in some packages in the cabin, caught fire at half-past eleven in the morning, and in five minutes ran up the rigging, and put it out of human power or ability to extinguish it; she broke adrift, from the cables burning, and obliged the fleet at Spithead to get under way and move to St. Helens; and having at last grounded on the Spit, there blew up.

When this accident happened the second lieutenant was commanding officer, who with all on board had a very narrow escape of their lives, being obliged to jump into the sea from the danger of boats coming alongside to their relief. Women with children under each arm, husbands with wives, and brothers with sisters were all committing themselves to the mercy of the waves for protection from the fire, thus seeking that death, the least of the two to be dreaded. The captain's clerk, six private seamen, four women, and about three children, were however all that lost their lives out of a ninety-eight-gun ship's complement, which was seven hundred and fifty; but we were short considerably of our complement, and there was a number of officers and men absent also on leave.

To return to my happy seat in prison: it is necessary to remark that I continued there four days and nights, having been obliged to wait for an answer from London before I could procure bail, not knowing any housekeeper in that town, nor wishing to take any steps before I heard from my attorney. However on the 5th, in the morning, I again sallied out from gaol, and poor and naked, once

more struggled against the winds and tides of adversity with my usual great flow of happy spirits. I remained at Portsmouth till the court-martial was ordered on us for the loss of the Boyne, and being tried and acquitted on May 18, we was all appointed to the Commerce de Marseilles,[1] of one hundred and thirty guns, of which ship I became first lieutenant; and having leave of absence to refit myself, I sat off for London on May 22, 1795; and sat myself down in Rotherhithe to be again tormented by an innumerable set of impatient hungry creditors, who did not fail to pay me constant visits, and tease my very soul to distraction morning, noon and night. Nor was this the only increased difficulty I had to encounter at this period; for having lost all my agent's accounts, books and papers of all descriptions, the Navy Board positively refused to give me either the amount of my disbursements for the time I was agent, or even the Boyne's pay for the year I had been lieutenant of her.

This was unquestionably very unjust and severe treatment, for I could not foresee the fate of the Boyne and by no means just now calculated to lose three hundred pounds. Having after many efforts sent them at last an affidavit, stating to the best of my knowledge the amount of the money I had expended on that service, and being again refused any satisfaction, I waited on Admiral Sir John Jervis and stated my case, who very kindly gave me a letter to the Comptroller of the Navy Board, which again produced my papers before the commissioners, but not the satisfaction that I expected, as they then referred the business to Captain Schank, the principal agent on that expedition; who having confirmed the services mentioned therein, and recommended

[1] One of the ships brought from Toulon by Lord Hood in 1793.

me to the Board in very strong terms, produced a third meeting between the commissioners and myself, when they examined the accounts of some other agents who had passed them, and found another difficulty in the difference of the amount, as mine was considerably more than any of theirs. To which by letter I again stated the cause of mine being so much more than theirs, observing that I could not with any propriety either receive less than what I had sworn to, nor ever again join one of his Majesty's ships of war; conceiving the situation I then stood in to be a remarkably hard one, and that, cut off from my just and fair pay, and distressed as I was by the loss of my clothes in the Boyne, I had not power or ability to put up with the difficulties they threw in my way, and that waiting the Board's determination, I should never after give them the smallest trouble respecting my accounts, but patiently hear the result of my last application to them however severe that sentence might in the end turn out. At last I had the satisfaction to find the Board disposed to comply with my demands, and having left the business to be finished by my agents, I sat off for Portsmouth on June 23, and joined the Commerce de Marseilles as first lieutenant the following day, having left my family at Gosport in lodgings.

Soon after my joining the ship, Captain Grey with three hundred and sixty men were ordered on board the Glory, and in a few days she proceeded to sea on a cruise off Belleisle under his command. The Commerce with about one hundred and fifty men was then left under the command of Captain Eaton, and we proceeded to fit and store her for sea as well as circumstances would permit; but from the variety of orders sent from the Board, to get her guns off, then on shore, then on board, and last of

all into the hold and then up again, it was the end of August before she was completely fitted and stored for sea. This wonderful ship was, comparatively speaking, a world of herself, and as much bigger than the largest first-rate in the navy as any of the rate is to any other second-rate, and drew together at least two-thirds of all England to behold with astonishment her magnitude.

September 9 I was appointed first lieutenant of the Glory, to prevent my being sent abroad in the Commerce and thereby deprived of the interest of Sir John Jervis. On the 23rd of the same month I was appointed lieutenant of the Victory in the Mediterranean, where the admiral was going to hoist his flag as commander-in-chief in those seas; and on October 7 I arrived in London from Portsmouth to prepare myself for the voyage, once more flattering myself with hopes of gaining the summit of my wishes, and returning to old England with the command of one of his Majesty's ships of war.

Having replenished my clothes and other articles as far as it was in my power after the dreadful conflagration of the Boyne, and settled my affairs as much to the satisfaction of my creditors as circumstances would allow, I quitted London on October 20, 1795, and proceeded to Portsmouth to join Admiral Sir John Jervis, who was going in the Lively frigate, Lord Garlies, to take the chief command in the Mediterranean. I was unfortunate enough to continue there at least fifteen days before the admiral came down, during which time I took lodgings at Portsea, and not conceiving it possible that I should experience any further incivility from my creditors after the language they held out in London, where unmolested I mixed among them for six weeks, I did not of course imagine any trap was

laid to endanger either my credit or my liberty. But I was much mistaken, for the scoundrel Farmer, a ropemaker in Rotherhithe, with feelings as diabolical as they were cunning and premeditated, had given directions to the sheriff's officer to keep a constant watch upon my movements, and to be particular in arresting me at the moment I was about to embark on board the Lively, as he was assured I must have a little money to defray my expenses on my joining the flag-ship at Corsica, and having no time to send to London for bail, was convinced I would rather lose my little all than sacrifice all my future hopes and prospects of promotion by continuing in a lock-up house and losing my passage in the Lively. True to the hellish calling of his iniquitous and hard-hearted profession, the obedient bailiff followed me to the Point of Portsmouth, where, at the instant I was stepping into a wherry, he put his abominable orders in execution, and arrested me for the trivial sum of forty-seven pounds. I patiently resigned myself to the law, and once more followed this savage race of tipstaff mortals to the Sheriff's Arms, cursing no doubt within my heart the villany of Farmer, and the capricious and whimsical disposition of that fickle jade Fortune.

Arrived at the bar: 'You have detained me a prisoner for the sum of forty-seven pounds, wherefore I beseech thee, lawyer, to have compassion upon my situation, and as quick as may be release me from persecution, that I may prosecute my voyage, and to the end thereof there is thy money.' 'My fee is a guinea.' 'Thanks to Heaven I have it; there is thy guinea.' 'Ours is half a guinea each,' says Touchshoulder. 'And mine,' says Lockup, 'what you please. I have had the honour before, Lieutenant, of waiting on you here, and know you are a generous officer.' 'Gentlemen,' says I, 'pity

my situation, for fifty poor pounds is all I have, and at this rate I shall not raise enough to pay you all; will not one of you take my note on London for five pounds? You say you know me to be generous; I'm sure you'll find me honest.' 'Why, to be sure, Lieutenant, it is a hard case; but, nevertheless, a gentleman of your rank can never be distressed for a guinea or two, and, for my part, it is not in my power to assist you. Mayhap Mr. Whatdyecallum, the slop merchant near the Dockyard Common,[1] who used to give your honour cash for a bill now and then, when you lived in my house before, will oblige you again, for he always speaks handsomely of your distresses in the Boyne.' 'Perhaps he will; I thank you for the thought; and if you will but use dispatch and hurry away to his house, so that I may safely and timely get on board the Lively, I will not stand for a guinea or two beyond your proper fees.'

'Well now, that is spoken in a way to be understood. Here, gentlemen—Mr. Touchshoulder, Mr. Looksharp—go with the lieutenant and use him kindly. Here is my bill for the writ, and the room, and so on, and be sure to take a guinea for Lawyer Heartiron's fee, and the officer knows what he used to pay for attendance, and my little boys running for madam to visit him; but go along; don't stop, and mind I say, Mr. Looksharp, don't follow the lieutenant too close; nor you, Mr. Touchshoulder, keep too near before. I scorn unhandsome tricks. Good luck to you, Lieutenant; I hope you will succeed.' 'Thank you, Mr. Lockup; I hope I shall, or Heaven knows I am undone for ever. Step out, good gentlemen.'

Without further explanation on this subject I succeeded, and grateful shall I ever be to the good

[1] Probably the Common Hard. The Town of Portsea was officially called the Common till 1792.

[illegible] me cash to [illegible] enabling [illegible] unds. and [illegible] with me [illegible] I shall [illegible] wing and [illegible] the [illegible] and a fresh [illegible] friends [illegible]

[illegible]

about noon we fortunately weathered the point and anchored in Myrtilla Bay.

On December 1 we moved up to San Fiorenzo Bay, near to the Victory; and on the 2nd the admiral's flag was shifted from the Lively to her, and having prepared with all possible dispatch for sea, we left Corsica soon after with a fleet of thirteen sail of the line, two of which were Neapolitans, and stood in towards the harbour of Toulon in order of sailing; and having, with a view of reconnoitring the enemy's force, stood very close in, the batteries commenced a very heavy fire on the fleet, which was, however, so very ineffectual that they did us little or no damage; and we stood out to sea to protect a convoy from England under Vice-Admiral Waldegrave in the Barfleur, which we fell in with, and having seen them safe within sight of Corsica, we returned to the blockade of Toulon; where on the 28th of the month I spent my forty-third birthday, but much out of the usual way, for I had no private stock of wine for the occasion, and the mess was so poor that we could only raise the ship's wine, which was intolerably bad black-strap.

On January 5, 1796, Lord Hervey, of the Zealous, died; and on the 10th we returned to San Fiorenzo to refit, some of the ships having suffered considerably in the late heavy gales we experienced off Toulon. We remained but a few days in port, when we visited Leghorn, and directly after commenced one of the longest cruises that was ever undertaken in his Majesty's navy, having closely blockaded Toulon for the unprecedented time of nine months, without ever once quitting the station or coming to an anchor, and during the whole of which time we were victualled and watered by transports from Corsica; and as I was the first lieutenant of her [the Victory] greatest part of the time, that is

from December 2, 1795, to June 8, 1796, I can with great propriety affirm that the service was not only severe but very fatiguing, as no weather was an excuse to discharge the transports, but blow high or low, that difficult duty, at sea, was constantly performed.

I was promoted to the rank of master and commander on June 8, 1796, in consequence of a vacancy happening in the Mignonne, for which ship I got an acting order till the post captain came from England to join her, and took my passage to Fiorenzo in his Majesty's ship Captain, where I joined the Mignonne on the 10th; and it was singularly unfortunate that the very day I was promoted, I was seized with the most violent fit of the gout in both ankles, and so extremely bad was I, that I never wore shoe nor stocking from the day I left the Victory to July 8, but was closely confined the whole of that time to my cabin, which, for the convenience of a poor gouty gentleman, was neither wind- or watertight, but so miserably mutilated, like the ship, by the sad hand of time, that she was altogether a perfect wreck.[1]

On July 9, then being so far recovered as to be able to put on a gouty shoe and to remove with some difficulty from my cabin to the boat, and being most seriously tired of my long confinement, I ordered some cold victuals to be prepared on the occasion, and taking with me some wine and spirits, arms and ammunition, a good spy-glass, and the third lieutenant (Mr. Anderson), and surgeon (Mr. Jefferson), I proceeded in the barge out to sea, along the eastern side of the bay of San Fiorenzo, with an intention to visit some of the curious towns upon that shore, some of which were built in a most

[1] She was taken at Calvi in August 1794, and was burnt at Porto Ferrajo, as unserviceable, on July 31, 1797.

awful manner on the very extremity of high and mountainous precipices, and whose walls plumbed the sea, which beat against the rocks about three hundred yards below. About half-past eight we had proceeded about ten miles with a very favourable and fresh breeze, and was just about to attempt a landing near the most remarkable of these villages, when the wind began to increase to a gale, and the sea to run extremely high; insomuch that it was safer to attempt a landing than to keep in the boat or retreat to the ship, for the wind was very unfavourable to the latter, as was my situation to the other; and therefore I planned the mode of entering into the surf and saving our provisions, and giving the signal for landing.

We very unfortunately were upset, and overwhelmed with every surf that struck us, and it was a considerable time before I could extricate myself from the boat, which had now all her bows broken and stove in, and so completely swamped that I found my best chance was to push for the shore, towards which all those who could swim were making with all possible dispatch, and which I had no sooner reached than I called loudly for help, having no use of my legs and being seriously bruised in the stern-sheets of the boat, at her first striking; nor did I among all these disasters forget the grub, which we had carefully stowed in a very large pot, confined with a close snug cover, where we found it all safe; but we were not so fortunate with our liquors, having saved only two bottles of port wine. However, the people made a fire for us, and cooked an Irish stew out of some cold roast beef, for we found a great desire for an amusement of that kind while all our clothes were drying at the battery, which place we moved to.

From what cause I cannot determine precisely,

but certain it was that the gout considerabl
eased immediately that resolved to benefit b
accident of being wrecked, and the intense h
the weather very soon drying our clothes, I h
horse from a Corsican just then passing the ba
and followed on foot by the whole of the
except two seamen left as a guard over our t
I rode toward the town of Farinole, which wa
miles up a steep hill, and apparently, at that dis
worth the trouble of visiting.

It is in vain for me to attempt a descripti
the badness of the road that led to this village
beggar everything of the kind in the vilest p
any country I ever frequented: but to make a
for this great inconvenience, the irregular
romantic appearance of the whole surface, co
with blooming fragrant myrtle, grapes, olives
nuts, apples, chestnuts, and weeds of a very s
aromatic scent, dispersed in wild yet cha
disorder, so bewitches your ideas as you travel
that it almost is next to impossible you can
verted from them, unless it is by the stum
along of your horse, and the apprehension of b
ing your neck, which I think is positively t
one against the traveller, and would be next
certainty were not the horses and mules of the i
remarkably sure-footed and well acquainted wit
roads.

It was about noon when we entered the t
where stands the church shaded round with
trees, that has nothing about it striking or any
remarkable. It was defaced and much injure
the French when they took the island the begin
of the war, and will not probably recover its mi
tune for many years, as it will require an expe
and thorough repair, which at this period the C
cans are not in the habit of entering into with r

cheerfulness. The streets, if with propriety I may so call them, are miserably narrow, in many places not exceeding eight feet; and rocks which were originally placed there by the great Architect of the Universe enjoy unmolested their primary state of nature. Even impediments of filth maintain their right to quiet repose; and unless sometimes swept away by the tremendous floods from the mountains, which the steepness of the town greatly facilitates, I am sure it would not only block up their dwellings, but be the means of bringing on additional plagues and pestilence. How kind, then, has Providence been to this dirty, indolent race of mortals! For, seeing that they must inevitably perish by these habits and customs, the wise Author of the World has judiciously surrounded them with myrtles and all kinds of fragrant shrubs, giving them corn, wine, and oil in abundance, and figs, nuts and grapes in every corner of the island, which, wanting but little assistance to cultivate, or labour to prepare for a market, seem at first sight best calculated and suited to their lazy disposition.

Having reached the further summit of the town, and being informed by our guide, the owner of the horse, that the last house before us was occupied by the priest of this immaculate village, I expressed a great desire to pay him a visit, and was saved the trouble of further solicitude on the subject by the priest himself looking out of the window and kindly offering us some refreshment. We ascended a kind of straight broad ladder, bearing no kind of resemblance to a staircase, and landed in a room containing old boards, empty bottles, and a variety of old lumber, from which we entered the chamber, where the good man received us with every mark of kindness, and whose furniture consisted of a small table, a trunk with his clothes, a mattress on a few boards

raised by two stools for a bed, a young blackbird, and four bottles of water.

The holy father was a very good-looking man about forty-five years of age, dressed in black plush small clothes, black stockings, and black fustian jacket. He put his neckcloth about his neck on our entering, and some biscuits and rich liquor upon the table, which he, however, first covered with a clean napkin. He spoke French and Italian, and was very civil and intelligent, and very fortunately the doctor was able to hold conversation with him in both, and we all understood a little of the first.

Having found that the ducking, joined to the exercise and entertainment I had experienced, had produced a very favourable change in the gout, I determined on walking back through the town, for, barbarous as it was, it afforded me an opportunity of viewing many things I was an utter stranger to; and having thanked the good priest for his hospitality and given the young man that was with him half-a-crown, we began our retreat, followed by all the brats of the village, intreating and supplicating for the lowest coin of the country, to which we were not altogether deaf, as it authorised us to satisfy our curiosity the better, by peeping into every little hovel as we passed the street, where we were for some time (in an olive house) struck with the incomparable beauty of a young girl about sixteen, who was occupied in the filthy employ of grinding olives and making oil, and of course she was in a shining pickle, but her face, contrary to her countrywomen, was white, with rosy cheeks, eyes sparkling fire, and lips beyond even imagination; in short, the whole frame of this charming girl was such a *tout ensemble*, that an anchorite or the most forlorn recluse would have forgot all religious vows and gazed

with adoration till dim with the lustre of her matchless form.

'And art thou,' says I to her, 'obliged to follow this vile employ of oil-making? Have you no lover, no husband, no friend that will ease thee of drawing round that ponderous stone, which appears to me to be hard duty even for a stout horse?' 'Fa molto caldo,' replies the sweet creature. 'Indeed, my love,' says I, 'you must find it very hot while at that work, and I wish I could speak Italian enough for thee to comprehend all I would say.' 'Non vi posso capire,' replied she. 'That I know,' says I, 'my dear, and only wish thou didst understand me, but all I can contrive to tell thee in Italian is that thou art "una bella bionda," and in plain English a most exquisite lovely girl, and there's a bob for you if I never touch another during my existence.' 'Son obbligata, signore,' says she, making a curtsey with a blush of astonishment at my kindness. 'Good-day to you, my sweet Corsican,' says I; 'farewell, and success attend you!' 'Buona sera, signori,' says the poor girl, so down the street we journey on.

The heat was excessive and very unpleasant, but the scenes that presented themselves were so various and interesting, and so much engaged our attention, that we found we had reached the guard-house sooner than we wished, and without feeling the smallest inconvenience from either the roads or my pleasant companion, the gout, which had continued to improve from the moment of our disaster of upsetting. Immediately on our arrival the cold steak pie, with the remains of the Irish stew heated, was put on the table, and having finished the last of the two bottles of port, which the soldiers hid in a bush of myrtle during our absence, but which was too serious a loss to put up with without a search, we began to devise means of returning on board; and as the sea had fell

considerably and there was but little wind, we formed strong hopes of accomplishing it, by patching up the barge, whose stem was out and every plank disengaged from it, a large hole under her counter, and the whole gunwale stove and broke to pieces. However, by frapping her together with the painter, and after filling her bows with canvas and oakum and lashing one of her sails round her, getting her well down by the stern, and stopping as well as we could the other defects, we proceeded under the foresail, set upon the mainmast, toward the ship about seven o'clock, and with great exertions in bailing, and very favourable light winds, we got safe on board the Mignonne at half-past nine, having met with no greater misfortune than severe colds from our situation in the boat.

On July 23 the Petrel sloop of war arrived and Captain Stewart superseded me in La Mignonne, and I took command of the other by an acting order from Sir John Jervis, and proceeded in her to the port of Ajaccio to get a new bowsprit,[1] where I arrived on the 27th; and on the 28th sailed to join Commodore Nelson at Leghorn, but the wind not allowing me to go in on the north side of the Melora as I intended, I received a heavy fire from the batteries which at this period was in the hands of the French; but anchored near the Captain without much damage on August 2, sailing again thence on the 23rd for Bastia in Corsica, where I arrived on the 4th; and receiving a requisition from his Excellency Sir Gilbert Elliot, the viceroy, to take under my protection some valuable vessels to Naples, I sailed for that port on the 5th with a convoy of

[1] It would appear from Nelson's letter to Jervis, of August 5, that he didn't get it, and 'was treated with a most unwarrantable incivility' (Nicolas's *Dispatches and Letters of Lord Nelson*, ii. 235).

seven sail, having on board the British Factory of Leghorn, with all their property, saved on the entrance of the French troops into that city the beginning of July.[1]

On Sunday, August 7, the island of Ponza bearing about south-east, five or six leagues distance, the people being at divisions, and myself in the cabin, marking the psalms and lessons for prayers, which, agreeable to my constant practice, I was going to read at half-past ten o'clock, I suddenly was alarmed with a loud and general cry of fire ; and upon running to the main-deck, found all the people flying to the forecastle, where I first concluded the fire had broke out ; but my apprehensions were considerably increased upon being told by the lieutenants that the fire was either in or near the magazine. Giving the officers directions to accompany me, I instantly ran below, followed by the two lieutenants, master, gunner, and Mr. Towers, one of the midshipmen. On our coming to the magazine passage, we found the fire was in the purser's steward room adjoining the magazine, where it was raging in a manner far too dreadful for me to paint or give the faintest idea of. The door was locked and the passage so very confined that it was impossible to force it open, and in this direful situation did we remain for a considerable time, while one of the officers went in search of the steward to procure the key, who was then on the bowsprit with the boatswain and as many of the crew as could hang thereon and about it.

On opening the door, the fire, then receiving vent, flew out with such violence that we were for some moments unable to recollect our state, for it appeared totally impossible to extinguish a fire that

[1] On June 27. As to the saving of the property, see Laughton's *Letters and Dispatches of Lord Nelson*, 103 *n*.

had visibly made its progress to the bulkhead of the magazine, which we clearly saw was in flames. But as the officers I had the honour of commanding were active and attentive, as well as brave and cool, and a quantity of water and wet bedding had been collected while we waited for the key, every possible success was to be expected from their exertions, for we had all time enough to reflect on the chance of safety, either at the bowsprit end or magazine door, both places being equally subject to destruction on the explosion of four hundred barrels of powder; and therefore, having deluged the place with a great quantity of water, we were enabled to advance near enough to take out several boxes of candles, jars of oil, writing-desk, and a number of other articles that were in solid flames, as well as to use the wet blankets with great success; for in a few minutes we had so very rapidly gained on the fire, that a very little was to be seen here and there soon after our attack, and that was reduced to a state no way alarming, as it was prevented entering the magazine, where one spark would have instantly sent us into eternity, from which for an hour and half I did not think myself clear a second, but felt of course the most excruciating tortures of the mind that possibly can be conceived; 'and had not God given us help in our trouble' I am sure we must have perished, 'for vain' in such a deplorable state 'was the help of man' alone.

So soon as all apprehension was over, I returned to the deck, where I found the ship's company returning from their supposed place of safety; and after having punished the purser's steward with three dozen lashes for his carelessness and neglect, we returned thanks to Almighty God for His most gracious aid and protection, and pursuing our voyage past the islands of Vendotena and Ischia, entered the

Gulf of Naples on the 8th instant. On the 9th I arrived with the convoy all safe, notwithstanding the several attempts made by the French privateer row boats to board and capture them off the small nest of islands I had the two preceding bad nights passed; and on the following day I received a letter from the British Factory of Leghorn in the expressive words of—

'Naples, August 10, 1796.

'SIR,—We, the underwritten members of the British Factory of Leghorn, beg leave to return you our sincere acknowledgments for your great care and attention in conveying the vessels in which were our persons and property from Bastia to this port. We conceive it a duty incumbent upon us to address these few lines to you, Sir, as a mark of our gratitude and esteem.

'We have the honour to be, Sir,

'Your most obedient and
obliged humble servants,

'(Signed) JAMES PARTRIDGE,
DANL. RAGUENEAU,
ISAAC GRANT.

'To BARTHW. JAMES, Esq.,
'Commander of H.M. Ship Petrel, &c., &c.'

To which very handsome letter I returned the following answer:—

'GENTLEMEN,—Nothing can be so very flattering or acceptable to me as the letter I have had the honour of receiving from the British Factory of Leghorn, expressive of their thanks for my care and attention of the convoy from Bastia to this port. I shall always feel a pride in rendering you every service in my power, and trust I shall ever execute my duty where the interest of my country is so

particularly concerned; and with all possible respect and esteem,

'I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,
'Your most obliged and
obedient humble servant,
'BARTHW. JAMES.

'To the Members of the British Factory of Leghorn.'

I mention this very honourable testimony of the Factory to show that notwithstanding I had taken every possible pains in my power to facilitate their voyage with safety and expedition, yet that such was the great inattention and negligence of the masters of the vessels, that to awake them to a sense of their duty and make them obedient to my signals, I was under the necessity of pressing several of their men and replacing them with some of my own people from the Petrel, as the only means of accomplishing that for which, in the above letter, such handsome acknowledgments were sent me.

In the morning of the 10th I proceeded to the Locanda Nobile dell' Aquila Nera, a Santa Lucia in Napoli, where, having taken a set of rooms, hired a carriage and a *valet de place*, I drove off to the house of Sir William Hamilton, the British minister to the court of Naples; where having exchanged an hour's conversation on the service I was to pursue from hence, I proceeded to pay my respects to his Royal Highness Prince Frederick Augustus,[1] the sixth son of our most gracious sovereign, who had a little before quitted Rome in consequence of the pope's having made a peace with the republic of France.

From the house of the prince I drove to the Grotta di Pozzuoli, which is a subterraneous road

[1] Augustus Frederick, afterwards Duke of Sussex.

cut through a very high mountain; and during my stay in Naples visited all the places worthy attention. But as they are much better described by several books written purposely on the subject, I shall not attempt to give any account of them in my private journal, but proceed to say that on Friday, August 12, being the anniversary of the birth of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, I gave a dinner to a select party of friends, at which I was honoured with the company of his Royal Highness the Prince Augustus.

At eleven o'clock in the morning his Royal Highness put off from the shore, led by the first lieutenant in the Petrel's cutter, when the yards were instantly manned; and during the time the prince was rowing round the ship, the men occasionally changed their fronts, with three cheers each time; and as soon as his Royal Highness was on the Petrel's deck, a salute of twenty-one guns was fired, and the ceremony finished with three additional cheers on his leaving the deck. Sir William Hamilton and his beautiful lady were next received with a salute of seventeen guns and a manned ship, and with them came two Neapolitan princes, the secretary of the Viceroy of Corsica, Mr. and Mrs. Graves, and several other gentlemen and ladies, together with all the Petrel's officers, who made up about thirty, including the suite of his Highness and the chance friends who did me the honour to visit me on the occasion.

After the company had attended the prince in visiting the ship, we sat down to dinner, agreeable to the custom of the country at the early hour of one, and notwithstanding a salute is not allowed for the Prince of Wales' birthday, yet, out of compliment to his royal brother, I fired a salute of twenty-one guns on drinking his health after dinner, which I

had the pleasure to see appeared very flattering to Prince Augustus. Royal toasts, songs, and every kind of mirth filled up the time till five o'clock, in which the tars were not forgotten, for they in their turn drank their royal master and success to the family in their favourite liquor, grog, and afforded the company much entertainment from their songs and their variety of sea amusements; but the loyalty of that exquisite and charming, lovely woman, Lady Hamilton, outshone then, as upon every other occasion, the whole party; for in the ecstasy of singing 'God save the King' in full chorus with the whole ship's company, she tore her fan to pieces, and threw herself into such bewitching attitudes that no mortal soul could refrain from believing her to be an enthusiastic angel from heaven, purposely sent down to celebrate this pleasant, happy festival; and though we are told it is dangerous 'to put any confidence in princes,' I will believe Prince Augustus when he assured me that he spent a remarkably pleasant, joyous day.

The ceremony at his Royal Highness's departure was of course nearly the same as that of his coming on board, which took place much sooner than it otherwise would have done, from the prince's giving a ball in honour of his brother's birth, at which, attended by all the officers of the Petrel, I went about eight o'clock, and was extremely entertained at the appearance of the company, which consisted of about seven hundred of the most fashionable people of all nations in Naples, as well as with the politeness and attention of his Royal Highness and the affable goodness of Lady Hamilton,[1] who did the female honours of the evening and with whom I

[1] A very handsome fan and two commoner ones, given by Lady Hamilton to Captain James for his wife and two children, are now in the possession of the family.

had the pleasure of dancing the second dance, the prince having opened the ball with her ladyship.

The 13th I dined at the minister's villa with a select party, and in the evening rowed his Royal Highness about the harbour, during which time he smoked his pipe, agreeable to his constant custom every day after dinner; and the morning of the 14th, during the time I was writing my letters, I was surprised to hear somebody calling me from under the stern, but extremely more so when I found it was Prince Augustus and a Neapolitan prince, with two servants, in the water swimming to the ship. I instantly got several men in the cutter to counterbalance their weight on the opposite side, and having got them below in the cabin, amidst the astonished crew and several of their wives, who with the greatest loyalty came to the ladder to see their naked prince, I put flannel gowns about them, and, having given them a beefsteak and a bottle of port, and sent for their clothes from the shore, I put them into a boat and with three cheers landed them opposite to the ship.

Notwithstanding I had determined to avoid any comments on Naples or places so accurately known, yet I cannot help taking notice of the exaggerated accounts given of this great city, whose buildings are no doubt in most parts particularly superb, but the streets are in my opinion more confined than those of London, nor do I know any that struck my eye with any forcible impression, if I omit mentioning the height of the houses, which in common run to the sixth story. In Guthrie's 'Grammar' it is said: 'Some of the streets are very handsome; no street in Rome equals in beauty the Strada di Toledo at Naples, and still less can any of them compare with those beautiful streets that lie open to the bay.' If this be really the case, Rome cannot

boast much of her streets; for, if I except their being in general paved with flat stones, I positively could not find out where their beauty lay. The Strada di Toledo may be about the breadth of Southampton Street in London, but on each side the whole flat pavement is occupied by all kinds of tradesmen, such as shoemakers, tinkers, chair-makers, and in fact of every description, who, with the fruit-stalls and sellers of lemonade, fill up that part of the street which in London is the footpath, so that the people, asses, coaches, carts, and all, take the centre of the street; so that you not only run a risk of having your legs broken every minute, but you are unable to make a greater progress through this street than you can through Thames Street of a busy day, which must of course make it excessively unpleasant, however regular and high the houses may be that form this so much-admired street. The houses within are richly ornamented, even to the servants' rooms, with fine paintings and pictures, and superbly gilded all over; yet do those people follow the abominable custom of several other nations by defiling every part of their houses with high-scented abominations that are positively a disgrace to everything virtuous or decent; for you might expect them as soon to forget their father confessor as to undertake dedicating a temple to Cloacina. Hence arises that indecent, brutish custom of making every corner of the street or by-path, even to their very doors, a conveniency upon every occasion; and from hence proceeds those diabolical evils and diseases which the people of those countries are eternally pestered with, most of whom, too lazy to remove their filth farther, throw it into the streets for the wholesome benefit of every unfortunate passenger.

Things are so totally reversed in Naples that it is not possible or customary for fashionable people

to go abroad between ten in the morning and four in the evening, the heat, smell, and danger of sickness making it altogether unpleasant as well as imprudent. In a letter from Mr. Addison to Mr. Montague, said to be written from Rome, there is a passage which paints in lively colours the above observation. 'Our days at present, like the first chapter of Genesis, consist only of the evening and morning, for the Roman noons are as silent as the midnight of other countries.' This is absolutely the exact case at Naples, for if I begin the day, as we do at sea, from noon, half the middle order of society in this city, and all the first, will be in their beds. About half-past twelve the first and half-past one the latter eat their dinner, and having drank coffee and brought about the hour of three or four, agreeable to their rank or situation, they go an airing in their carriages with all the clumsy splendour they can fancy. 'Tis at this time they try to outvie their acquaintance by having a more gaudy carriage or greater number of running footmen; and yet one-half the old hackney coaches upon the stands in London are infinitely superior to the ridiculous, ill-shaped vehicles in Naples. A nobleman not worth two hundred a year will have, perhaps, three or four servants behind the carriage, and two running footmen before, who are frequently kept upon a taut run for six or eight miles upon a stretch, and whose pay and feed does not cost half so much as one of the most moderate servants in the cheapest part of England.

About this period, which I shall suppose to be about five o'clock, the noise and hubbub commences; the streets are filled with carriages and people of all sorts from top to bottom, processions of the host, and indeed processions of the most ridiculous kind parade the town. Priests, friars, and

all orders go in crowds; the stalls are filled with fruit, the booths with fish, oysters, lobsters, and thousands of dishes frying and swimming in bad oil; all is noise and confusion, and it appears as if Hell was let loose, and the Devil had come up with his whole army of fiends through the burning Vesuvius. Soldiers, porters, pimps and thieves first take their seat in those stalls, where for a small sum they cram themselves with as much fish and vile garlic sausages as would choke an Irish chairman, and drink small iced wine or lemonade that would be considered a luxury by the first alderman in London; for it is an absolute fact that the meanest plebeian in Naples accustoms himself so much to the use of ice at all seasons of the year, that he cannot exist with any comfort without its benefit; the only excuse for which is, that it is so excessively cheap and plentiful that for a shilling you may buy as much ice as will cool you all the wine you can possibly use in your house of a day. About nine, those same stalls are refilled with ladies of pleasure, tradesmen, and the middling sort of the community, and very often with some who figure in the first line of life, but those generally take their oysters into the carriages or have a private booth or stall to themselves, where they go through the same meal with but little difference from the lower order, if we except the improvement of getting it in a little more decent style. The opera, the theatre, balls, cards and dice, finish the whole at about six in the morning, when directly after they take their first breakfast, and go to bed, it being impossible to procure any sleep or rest sooner, the lower order of people keeping a most infernal noise through the night, 'and nothing can be so bad as the horrible scenes of infamy committed by the Italians in this great city.'

I shall make a few observations upon the direful

situation of the inhabitants around Vesuvius during the last eruption, taken from the account published by Sir William Hamilton in June 1794, as it is a most striking and exact detail of that awful circumstance.

'It is impossible,' says Sir William, 'that any description can give an idea of this fiery scene, or of the horrid noises that attended this great operation of nature; it was a mixture of the loudest thunder, with incessant reports like those from a numerous artillery, accompanied by a continued hollow murmur, like that of the roaring of the ocean during a violent storm, and added to these was another blowing noise, like that of the going up of a large flight of sky rockets, &c., &c., which kept all the houses at Naples for several hours in a constant tremor, every door and window shaking and rattling incessantly, and the bells ringing. This,' says Sir William, 'was an awful moment. The sky from a bright full moon and star light began to be obscured, the moon had presently the appearance of being in an eclipse, and soon after was totally lost in obscurity. The murmur of the prayers and lamentations of a numerous populace, forming various processions and parading in the streets, added likewise to the horror. About five o'clock in the morning of the 16th, we could plainly perceive that the lava, which had first broke out from the several new mouths on the south side of the mountain, had reached the sea and was running into it, having overwhelmed, burnt, and destroyed the greatest part of Torre del Greco, the principal stream of lava having taken its course through the very centre of the town.'

I shall mention a curious anecdote taken also from Sir William Hamilton's account of the eruption, as it is a singular instance of insensibility at a period so very alarming and awful.

'The lava ran like a torrent over the town of Torre del Greco. Some saved their lives the following day by coming out of the tops of their houses and walking over the scoriæ on the surface of the red-hot lava. Five or six old nuns were taken out of a convent in this manner on June 16, and carried over the hot lava, as I was informed by the friar who assisted them, and who also told me that their stupidity was such as not to have been the least alarmed or sensible of their danger. He found one, of upwards of ninety years of age, actually warming herself at a point of red-hot lava which touched the window of her cell, and which she said was very comfortable; and though now apprised of their danger, they were still very unwilling to leave the convent in which they had been shut up almost from their infancy, their ideas being as limited as the space they inhabited. Having been desired to pack up whatever they had that was most valuable, they all loaded themselves with biscuits and sweetmeats, and it was by accident that the friar discovered that they had left a sum of money behind them which he recovered for them, and these nuns are now in a convent in Naples.'

After what I have said of this city, I shall finish my opinion of both it and its inhabitants by an observation taken from a very old account of this country, published in London in 1700, and which shows pretty clearly that the Italians have not much improved in their genius or manners for the last century. 'The kingdom of Naples is a paradise, but the inhabitants devils; they are naturally seditious and abominably unclean; they are very sumptuous in their apparel, especially on Sundays and holy days, insomuch that it is hard to distinguish a lady from a cobbler's wife. . . .'

On August 15, having received fresh orders

from the commander-in-chief to proceed to Cape Otranto at the entrance of the Gulf of Venice, or Adriatic Sea, and then open my sealed orders for my further information, I sailed from Naples about ten in the morning, and passed a most unpleasant night upon the coast between the ancient Capri and the main, having extreme heavy rain and most awful thunder, lightning, and squalls of wind, insomuch that I expected the masts to go by the board every minute. However, on the 16th the weather broke and cleared up, and we passed so very close to the island Capri that we had a clear and perfect view of the people on shore, and saw the ruins of those palaces once famous for being the place to which 'Augustus Cæsar went for his health and recreation, and which Tiberius made a scene of the most infamous pleasures.' It lies three Italian miles from the main land, and is about four miles in length and one in breadth. It appeared to be extremely fertile, and covered with almost every sort of fruit tree, and afforded us a most delightful landscape as we sailed by it.

At four in the morning of the 18th we passed the Lipari or Æolian and Vulcanian Islands, formerly called the Tyrrhenian or Tuscan Sea, where, as the poets I think say, 'blushing King Æolus reigned of old.' Lipari is the biggest of all the Vulcanian Islands, and was once the most famous for vomiting fire; but Didyme, now Stromboli, is almost the only one that continually burns, from whose mountainous top issues constantly a sulphurous fire, particularly visible by night and covered with smoke by day. They are seven in number and lie off the north coast of Sicily. In the evening of this day we entered the Faro di Messina, a very narrow strait that divides Calabria from Sicily, and famous for the many shipwrecks which happened there from the

situation of Scylla and Charybdis, a most direful rock and whirlpool at its entrance, and described by the poet in the following lines:—

> 'Far on the right her dogs foul Scylla hides;
> Charybdis roaring on her left presides,
> And in her greedy whirlpool sucks the tides,
> Then spouts them from below; with fury driv'n,
> The waves mount up and wash the face of Heaven;
> But Scylla from her den with open jaws
> The sinking vessel in her eddy draws,
> Then dashes on the rocks,' &c., &c.

We entered this dreadful Faro about midnight, and was whirled and so violently driven and turned about with the tide, that I confess I was very much alarmed and apprehensive for the safety of the ship; but fortunately both those direful impediments of Scylla and Charybdis were destroyed in the great earthquake of 1783, when they disappeared in great convulsions and have not been seen since. About two o'clock we anchored in the harbour of Messina, a city in Sicily, opposite to the ancient Rhegium, now Reggio, in Calabria. The private houses in it are very superb, and the public buildings magnificent, but it received so terrible a stroke from the awful earthquake mentioned above, that all its noble edifices and structures of the first workmanship were levelled with the ground, and upwards of thirty thousand souls perished therein. It had, however, some churches and convents remaining that were extremely beautiful, and the situation of the town and harbour makes it, under all these misfortunes, still a most lovely place. The women in Sicily are reckoned particularly handsome, and I saw a great number that confirmed this account of them, but they generally are what is termed brown beauties, and are excessively lively and facetious.

I left Messina on the 20th and stood through the Faro to the southward, having in the night a view of the famous burning mountain of Etna, which at this period was vomiting fire in all its glorious plenitude, and from the darkness of the night showed itself in great perfection and terrific style. Having it in order to run close along the coast of Calabria in search of some privateers under Greek colours, I was never more than two leagues from the shore and often not so many miles; and on the night of the 21st, falling in with four ships, who made signals to each other and ran in for the land, I concluded I had been fortunate enough to meet the vessels described in my orders; and having ran two on shore and boarded and brought off the others, the people having escaped in their boats, I was extremely astonished to find that they were both Neapolitans, and naturally concluded they had taken us for Turks, of which the Italians are so dreadfully afraid that they always quit their vessels the instant they fancy the strange ship to be such I was much distressed at this circumstance, as I had some difficulty in getting them off, amidst a heavy fire from the other two vessels where all the cowardly crew of four ships had assembled with such ridiculous effect as to allow one armed boat to take two out of four of their polacres. However, about two hours after I was surrounded by six Maltese galleys who were drawn towards us by the fire from the Neapolitan vessels on shore, and whom at first I was very apprehensive were French; but having been relieved from that idea by their sending a boat on board, I gave the commodore of them the two vessels, taking his receipts for them and an assurance that he would run in shore in the morning and deliver them to the owners; but I greatly doubt his having done so, but think it much more probable that he carried them to

Malta as prizes he had captured from Greeks or Turks.

Making a sweep round the Gulf of Taranto and standing close in to the city of Gallipoli, a strong and well-inhabited place, being surrounded by the sea, except at one place where it is joined to the land by a bridge which is defended by a strong fort, which with its situation makes it almost impregnable, I stood round Cape St. Mary,[1] and that evening had the mortification to see another fine ship quitted by the pusillanimous Neapolitans, who, notwithstanding all my efforts to show them I was a friend, obliged me to abandon their vessel, which I saw the following day laying in the state I had left her, drifting over upon the Grecian shore.

On the 24th I arrived off Cape Otranto and there opened my sealed orders, which directed me to proceed to Trieste, a port at the very extreme north head of the Adriatic, and I made all possible sail, but with a foul wind, along the coast close to the cities of Otranto and Brindisi, and continued to beat upon that side until I came so high as Manfredonia, when I stood over to the island Pelagosa, and from thence to Augusta, and running up along the coast of Dalmatia arrived at Trieste on September 2, where I found his Majesty's sloop of war Utile, and two Spanish ships of the line and a frigate of forty guns; and the following day having received information from the minister at Venice that a war with Spain was inevitable, if not already declared, I dispatched Captain Lydiard in the Utile[2] in quest of

[1] C. Santa Maria di Leuca.

[2] The Utile was taken by the Southampton from under the batteries in Hyères Roads, on June 9, 1796. Lieutenant Charles Lydiard, who first sprang on board her, was promoted to command her. He afterwards commanded the Kite in the North Sea, and was posted on January 1, 1801. In the following war, he re-

Captain Miller of the Unité, who the following day returned with his Majesty's ships L'Aigle, Boston, Flora, and Unité, when the Spaniards put themselves in a posture of defence, and we both kept in constant readiness for action until the 11th, when the whole squadron, except the Utile, weighed and put to sea, that ship having been left [to] watch the motions of the Spanish ships.

The four frigates proceeded across to cruise off the Po, leaving me to cruise off Cape Salvore, and on the 12th I anchored off the town of Pirano and visited it and the neighbouring country for a few miles. The 13th I anchored off the coast of Istria, and visited that shore, and on my return half filled the boat with grapes and some of the largest blackberries I ever saw; and, weighing, stood up toward Trieste. On the 14th I received some dispatches from the Utile's boat, with which I proceeded directly across to the Po, and from thence to Venice, off which city I found the squadron on the 16th in the evening. I continued at anchor with the squadron off Venice until the 18th, when I made sail down the south side of the Adriatic, and on the 21st stood into Ancona for intelligence, but without anchoring; and pursuing my course to the south-east, close along shore, in about from ten to fifteen fathoms, within sight of Ortona and within shore of the islands

peatedly distinguished himself while in command of the Anson, in the West Indies, and especially at the capture of Curaçoa in January 1807; but was lost with the ship and some sixty of the crew, in Mount's Bay, on December 27, 1807. Thomas Ball Sulivan, who afterwards married James' daughter, was a midshipman of the Southampton at the capture of the Utile; was a lieutenant, with Lydiard, in the Kite and again in the Anson; was promoted for Curaçoa, and continuing in the Anson as a volunteer, was wrecked in her, in Mount's Bay. With some of the other survivors he was taken to James' house, where he met his future wife. See H. N. Sulivan's *Life of Sir B. J. Sulivan.*

Tremiti and Plana, I stood over for the very dangerous rocks of Pelagosa, round which I sounded and landed on the 28th, and on the 29th made Cape Otranto, and, standing across from thence towards the Grecian shore, made Cefalonia on the 30th, and in the evening of that day anchored in the island of Zante.

It is necessary to take notice that I was dispatched by the senior officer of the Adriatic squadron to cruise for a noted French privateer which had done much mischief in those seas, as well as to give protection to what trade might want a convoy as far as the Faro of Messina; and immediately on my arrival—in fact, the following morning, October 1—I again quitted Zante, and, taking such ships as were ready, proceeded for Messina, having in my way detained a Danish brig, from Zante to Rotterdam, which I sent to Corsica, but which, arriving at the time we were evacuating that island, was suffered to proceed on her voyage without an opportunity of having her strictly examined. I arrived at Messina with my convoy safe, on the 6th of the month; and being unable to land, from being then under a quarantine of forty-two days, I sailed again for Zante on the 7th, meeting that night with the most dreadful weather I ever experienced. The shore of Calabria was under our lee but a few miles. The extreme violence of the gale, the short, heavy sea, and the dreadful thunder and lightning we encountered cannot be described with pen. A brig, very near to us, had both her masts shivered to atoms and tore from the vessel, and nothing but the floods of rain that fell could possibly save us from being burnt, to which most heartfelt mixture of horror and confusion the burning Etna lent its awful appearance. In short, blessed did the morning appear after so solemn and dreadful a night, and happy did that period particularly seem which gave

us the long-wished-for change of weather. On the 12th I arrived at Zante, having carried in with me a Danish brig from Amsterdam, bound to Smyrna, but which, for want of proof of her being laden with Dutch property, I was obliged to release.

This island, which is within sight of the Morea, and four leagues south of Cefalonia, abounds in wine, oil, and particularly currants, and is inhabited chiefly by Greeks, but was subject to the Venetians before France put an end to that republic. It is not possible to see the women of this island—at least, the better sort—unless by chance or stratagem, as they do not allow even their next neighbours to visit them, or on any account go abroad unless closely veiled and guarded; and it was only allowed the English officers to associate with the wife and daughter of Mr. Foresti, the consul, who I always found quitted the room whenever any of the gentlemen of the town, whether Greek or Venetian, was approaching.

It is not unworthy of observation that for a small sum of money you might at this time have had any man you pleased put to death, and hence arises the many and innumerable murders committed in this island; for it is notorious that this abominable custom did prevail under the Venetian government to such a horrid degree that, I have been told from good authority, it has produced an income to some of the governors of three thousand a year; and bargains are very frequently made upon the occasion before the victim is put to death. I remember myself, when going into the country to dine with the Venetian consul, that I met a well dressed man running down the hill into the town; and, on advancing a little further, found a body reeking in its bloody wounds, just that instant received, in revenge, from the other I had passed, and

who, I was afterwards informed, had been obliged to pay more than he expected, from the governor's having discovered the near amount of his property; and this very assassin did the very next day parade the streets in defiance of the friends and relations of the deceased.

I quitted Zante on October 17, and proceeded in quest of a privateer which I had intelligence was seen hovering about the island of Cefalonia; on the 10th I stood to the eastward between that island and the Morea, toward the Strait of Lepanto, and having sailed to the entrance of the gulf, which is guarded by two castles well provided with cannon, and named the Dardanelles of Lepanto, in allusion to those of the Hellespont, I sailed back along the coast of Greece to little Cefalonia, formerly the ancient Ithaca, where, tradition tells us, Ulysses was born, and of which island he was king. The history of this hero, and the accounts given of both himself and Penelope, his wife, became too interesting for me to pass by the island that is said to have been not only his place of abode, but also of his birth; and as the time of the day, the calmness of the sea, and everything contributed to indulge my great desire of landing, I quitted the Petrel at nine in the morning, taking with me Lieutenant Anderson, and rowed along shore to the northward on the east side of the island, till at length, coming to a very snug harbour, near which stood some ancient ruins, I landed in a perfect basin at the upper end of the harbour, where we was met by some Grecians dressed in the manner described of old. We accompanied them to their house, which stood close to the landing place on a rising ground, near to which stood the ruins before mentioned; and close thereto was an immense, large reservoir, built of a firm cement of composition which had the appear-

ance of brown marble; but there was no sign of a joint, or could we learn from the Greeks how long it had been built, nor any other account thereof, but that no person then living could give any information about it, or trace by any means its origin or source; and we were well provided with a linguist, my own servant being with me, who understood almost every language, and was an Italian, in which they conversed.

The depths of this reservoir was, I suppose, about fifty feet, and from what I learned through the Greeks, was a square of two hundred; and, indeed, the surface discovered it to be fully that size. Hence arose in my mind ideas full of whim and fancy, particularly as I found we were in the only place on the island that was either calculated for trade by sea or that had any ruins or remains of ancient architecture on it. 'Who knows, then,' says I, 'but I am now on or about the very spot that old King Ulysses stood in disguise when he received the several affronts from the wooers of his chaste Penelope? Why may not this reservoir have been belonging to his palace, and this heap of rubbish and old buildings the remains thereof? Here, 'tis probable, fell, by Ulysses' sword, one or more of his rivals, and just there sat Penelope when she wove the famous web, now become a proverb. It shall be so, and the very people who now inhabit the place cannot deny the assertion.' Indeed, so far lost are those once great heroes and lawgivers, that they scarcely could tell us whether they had heard of their being once a powerful and independent nation, or that they had been for ever in the state of slavery they then were unquestionably accustomed to.

I bought some dried grapes and currants from them, and sat a long time in their house, during

which they gave us some figs and wine and water; and notwithstanding there were several very young children in the house, yet not a woman was to be seen among them, which showed that the Greek and Turkish custom prevailed also at Ithaca, or little Cefalonia, of concealing their women; for I saw several female dresses which, in their shape and make, was exactly, I can readily fancy, such as were worn in the very days of Penelope herself; and I particularly noticed a pair of small neat sandals, which I conjectured to belong to the daughter of the Greek who I was in conversation with, and whom I also took to be master of the miserable-looking dwelling we were then in. I returned to the ship at three o'clock, and, with the little air of wind we had, stood along the Grecian shore round isle Santa Maura, where I hove to for the night in hopes of falling in with the long-looked-for privateer.

On the morning of October 20 I again quitted the ship, with both lieutenants, directing the master to sail along shore to the north-east and keep a good lookout at the mast-head, making signals to me at the approach of a strange sail. On my first putting off I did not intend to land, not having any provisions or water in the boat; but having reached within a mile of it, and seeing what appeared to be a deep cave and somewhat curious, I determined to push for it, and, getting out of the boat, pursued our way through it till compelled by the darkness and horror of the place to return, when we ascended the mountain-top and had a view of the Bay of Arta, in which is the large and well-built town of that name in Epirus, in Turkey in Europe. Forgetting the distance we were from the ship and the time we should be rowing to her, and amusing ourselves with the magnificent prospect before us, we

descended the mountain at a very slow rate, and found the sun setting before we reached the boat. Considering every circumstance with a little more prudence, and finding the difficulty of hitting the ship in the night, I rowed along shore, keeping within several small rocks that were about a cable's length from the mainland. Of the two evils which presented themselves to our view, with many aggravating events (of being without provisions and water, and unacquainted with the exact situation or plan intended to be pursued by the ship during the night), the former most undoubtedly appeared to be the worst, for, from the walk and row, in addition to the heat of the weather, we began most sensibly to find the want of something to drink.

The master began to apprehend that some accident had happened to us, particularly as the boatswain, who was, as most common seamen are, very superstitious, had told him there were many enchanted caves on the coast, which whoever entered was deprived of returning from by a variety of magical charms; and that, allowing we had the prudence to avoid the caves of the magicians, yet it was fifty to one but the natives, who were nothing but freebooters and plunderers, would put us to death for the sake of our boat and clothes. This, however, strange as it may appear, was in part probable; for the whole of the coast here is a nest of robbers and pirates, who frequently commit the most daring outrages; but, as we were so many, and had our side arms with us, it was not to be expected that we should fall in with a sufficient number to insult us, particularly as we were very distant from any village; indeed, we did not see the vestige of house or man, excepting in the Bay of Arta, from which we were many leagues. The commanding officer, however, very prudently determined on keep-

ing off the coast, which he saw us row towards, and had we gone directly off 'tis certain we should have fell in with the ship; but at daylight, after rowing all night to the NE, I found the ship, as far as we could descry her to the SW of us; and having set our sail, and soon after being seen by the ship, we joined so rapidly that by half-past eight we arrived on board, when, 'tis needless to say, we made a very hearty breakfast, and was entertained with the story of the boatswain's magic caves and the apprehensions of the coxswain's wife, who had fancied her husband was dealing with spirits and hobgoblins in the deep recesses of the Grecian caverns, and that the sooner she profited by another husband the better, and which would most probably have taken place that day had not her dear yoke-fellow joined her at breakfast.

On the 21st I stood over to the island of Paxo, and after dinner went into a small harbour in my boat on the north end, where I bought some fruit and received intelligence that the privateer had been off that island the day before, and was, they supposed, gone to Corfu, where she had lately carried in two prizes—an English brig and a Neapolitan ship polacre. I immediately determined on proceeding direct to Corfu, and, after laying to greatest part of the night, anchored in the harbour the following morning, October 22, where I found a Venetian ship of war of seventy-four guns; but, to my mortification, found the privateer, having had intelligence of my being in quest of him, had quitted the coast two days before, which was the time she had been seen off Paxo.

So soon as the ship was moored I went on shore to pay my respects to the governor, and was followed to the castle by a prodigious concourse of people of all descriptions, who advanced in great numbers to

the adjoining room where the governor received me, the door of which was kept open, as appeared customary upon such occasions. The governor of Corfu is commander-in-chief of all the Venetian islands in those seas, and was a nobleman of distinguished birth and fortune. The English consul was a Neapolitan, and consul also for his own country, but he spoke English so bad that I was obliged to have another linguist with me, and soon found, by the governor's conversation, that the Petrel was the first British ship of war that had ever visited Corfu, and this in great measure accounted for the curiosity of the people in attending myself and officers to the castle. After the usual questions upon occasions of this kind were answered, and we had been presented with chocolate in a very superior style, his Excellency desired to know whether or not I meant to salute the garrison. I told him I most readily would salute upon his giving me his honour an equal number of guns should be returned from the garrison, but that otherwise I was not at liberty to fire a gun. He replied that it had been for ever the custom at Corfu to return to ships of all nations one gun less, and he hoped that I would not break in upon an established rule from which there yet had not, nor could he permit, any deviation.

'Your Excellency must pardon me,' says I, 'if you have a proof of one now. His Britannic Majesty's ships of war, by the express command of his Majesty himself, never fire a gun more than is returned from any power under Heaven, and I should think myself highly culpable was I knowingly to burn a grain more, much less to act so derogatory to the great character of the British navy as to fire a gun in addition to what his Majesty's ship under my command received.' After some conversation upon this business, he admitted the claim, but desired I would

not begin the salute until he had informed himself how many guns were in a condition to be fired; for really such at this time was the defenceless state of the garrison and town that I do not think I should have found much difficulty in storming the both with the crew of the Petrel. Having taken leave of the governor, I took a walk round the town and adjacent public places, and at four, on my return on board, I found that an officer had been there to say the salute must not exceed eleven guns, and I accordingly saluted with that number, which was returned.

Having said this much respecting the etiquette of salutes, it is but fair I should mention the politeness of the governor in a circumstance very unusual, and what I had not experienced in any of the other islands either belonging to the Venetians or Neapolitans, nor even at that very town of the emperor's, Trieste, which the British squadron was chiefly sent into the Adriatic to protect. The consul who came off to dine with me at five o'clock presented me with the governor's compliments and two keys of boxes at the opera, requesting I would use the one on the right of the house for myself and the opposite one for my officers, and which were solely for my use during the time I stayed at Corfu. About seven o'clock we left the ship and went to the opera, and agreeable to the desire of the governor, took the box allotted for me; but it is not possible for me to do justice to the handsome style it was fitted up in. There were four large wax candles in glass shades, with a very neat looking-glass half the size of one side the box, and on the other two fancy pictures; the front had a crimson velvet cushion edged with gold, and an arm-chair with cushions of the same was placed in the centre; the officers' was without glass or pictures, and had seats lined to sit

on, the front being light green velvet cushions edged with gold. Whether or not these boxes belonged to some distinguished families, and borrowed by the governor for the occasion, or whether they were fitted purposely, I know not; but it is certain that all the other boxes were nearly alike in every respect, which makes me conclude that it was a particular mark of attention shown to the captain and officers of the first ship of war belonging to England that ever visited the port or town of Corfu.

In the morning I received a visit from the captain of the Venetian ship of war, who came on board rowed in an eighteen-oared barge, with four footmen in the bows and six officers in the stern sheets with him; the boat's crew wearing light green sashes of satin and the servants green and silver. I was of course astonished at this superb visit, and was not prepared to receive a brother officer in the style he came; but as the chain pumps afforded him a deal of delight, and he was curious enough to look into every part of the ship, as if he had never before seen a man of war, I had time to present him with chocolate and cake, which my servants had sent on shore for, and to be a little prepared for his entering the cabin. After a stay on board of about two hours he took his leave with some very flattering compliments on the neatness and warlike state of the little Petrel; and to avoid the necessity of returning such a brilliant sea visit, I weighed about noon and proceeded to sea, and running out to the northward of Corfu, between the island and main, I passed the island of Merlera[1] that night; and the 24th, having stood along the Grecian shore to the northward, was abreast of the Gulf of Drino,[2] from which I continued my course to the NW as high as Ragusa,

[1] MS. Mazera. [2] MS. Ladrino.

and, stretching across, made Pelagosa the 26th at noon.

It must no doubt appear that the whole cruise afforded me a fund of amusement, and that I had great opportunity of seeing every part of the Gulf of Venice, not being in any manner tied down to any particular track in my course, either up or down, so that, having ran down on the NW side, and coasted it up on the SE, I left no spot of the whole Adriatic without sailing through and taking a view of. From Pelagosa I continued my course to Lissa, an island of Dalmatia belonging to Venice, and then stretched directly across to Ancona, which harbour I entered about seven o'clock on the evening of October 28; where, having learned some circumstances respecting the squadron, I did not stay above two hours; but the same night proceeded to sea and made sail for Trieste.

The 30th it blew a heavy gale of wind, which obliged me to run into the harbour of Pirano, where I found his Majesty's sloop of war Utile; and on the 1st of November the Aigle, Boston, and Flora, frigates, also anchored here, having received orders to join the fleet, and directing both the sloops to join the Unité without loss of time the following day, which we did in the afternoon of the 2nd at Trieste. The town of Trieste stands at the very head of the Adriatic, or, more properly speaking, at the bottom of the Gulf of Trieste; it is a good town, and abounds with everything, particularly game; it belongs to the emperor, being the only seaport he has in the Gulf of Venice; and the country round about the town is pleasant and full of neat German seats; but the north wind, which they term a Bora, blows at some seasons so excessive strong that it is next to impossible to ride them out, and ships are generally obliged to leave their anchors and take shelter at Pirano,

where you may continue in safety while the winds blow from that quarter. On November 7, at night, one of those gales came on in a most furious manner; but as we were ready for sea, and had intimation of its approach by the appearance of the sky, the signal was made for sailing and the ships under way by the time the gale reached us, and we proceeded down the Adriatic at a very great rate.

On the 10th of this month we reached Cape Otranto, and on the 11th, off Cape Colonne, parted company in a gale of wind at night. The 12th I joined the Utile, and we proceeded together off Cape Spartivento in hopes of falling in with Captain Miller, our commodore; but, after laying to until the 13th at noon without seeing him, we proceeded through the Faro di Messina, not having any direction where to rendezvous; and this proved a very serious business to me; for had I known that the Unité was gone through the Straits of Malta I should, by following her, have joined the admiral, and by that means got hold of the Raven, which I was appointed to, and consequently received a vast deal of prize money, instead of going from Messina to Elba and being superseded by Captain Wodehouse immediately on my arrival, and continuing about six weeks as a supernumerary on board the Dolphin at the very beginning of a Spanish war; 'but as the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong,' I contented myself with the reflection that I had done everything for the best.

About six in the evening of the 13th we both anchored in the harbour of Messina, myself having landed at a point on the shore of Calabria near Reggio, and walked to that town as the ship sailed through the Faro, my boat following me near the beach, and having with me the first lieutenant and my Italian servant. It may be thought strange that

I should venture from my ship upon a coast notorious for all kinds of robbery and murder, and at a time my ship was in so dangerous a navigation and near to the port she was about to anchor, which was in an island upon the opposite side of the Faro. The fact was that curiosity was so excessive strong upon all occasions where I could trace any memorable action of people of old that I was never easy but where I was satisfying it to the utmost in my power; and, recollecting that Rhegium, now Reggio, was the place that St. Paul went to from Syracuse, after being shipwrecked at Melita, now Malta, and being very desirous to frequent as much as possible the apostle's route (and I wish I could add his precepts too), I walked, as he had done, along this coast to the above mentioned town; and must not forget to add that a party of men with muskets came upon us in the olive orchards, and was at first inclined to be very uncivil; but by my servants explaining who I was, and that I came on shore only for a walk, they bid us go on, and returned into the country. I scarce had time to look round me before it was prudent to think of returning to the boat, for I had landed at least four miles from Reggio, and of course made it late before I reached the boat, though I had only about half a mile to go from the town to it, as it lies directly over against Messina, and is a small, commodious harbour for small craft.

I arrived on board just as the ship was entering Messina, and soon after was joined by the Utile; but the Petrel sailed so much faster than she did that I was able to spare her a deal of canvas, and was under no apprehension of her reaching the port before me. Here we found orders for us to proceed to Porto Ferrajo, in the island of Elba, which we did without loss of time the following morning, with-

out knowing all this time of the war with Spain, or attempting to stop a single ship of that nation, although I had fell in with several. The orders being directed singly to each ship, and very strong in language, I did not think it prudent to wait for the Utile; and so soon as I had passed Stromboli, off which old Vulcan saluted us with a heavy squall of wind and sulphur, I parted company, and arrived at Porto Ferrajo on the 20th, six days before l'Utile; where, as I before observed, I was, on the following day, superseded by Captain Wodehouse, who was sent out from England for that purpose, and had been searching for me at least four months; and had I not parted with Captain Miller I should have given him a much longer chase still, as I should have gone to Gibraltar, and by that means have joined my own brig, the Raven, to which I was appointed in a good vacancy, where the admiralty had no right to interfere, and which would most certainly have been a lucky hit at the time, as I should have been in the action of February 14; which, it will be found, as it did turn out, I should have been in had I not been extremely unfortunate, as I fell in with both fleets the day before the action.

Being now totally adrift, without a ship or place either for myself or things, I accepted the kind offer of Captain Retalick, of his Majesty's hospital ship Dolphin, to live with him; and I took up my quarters with him the day I resigned the command of the Petrel, taking with me my servants and cook and the little stock I had left from my cruise down the Adriatic. I had little, of course, to employ my time while in this situation, and therefore my chief amusement was walking from fifteen to twenty miles a day, and going into the vales on little parties to dine, and viewing such places as were considered in any way curious. Among those

period without being more exhausted than we see them.' These treasures, which one would imagine produced an immense sum, belong to the Prince of Piombino, who receives from the sale about nine thousand five hundred pounds sterling a year, clear of all expenses—a very trivial amount when we consider the ease with which it is wrought and wheeled to the boats, and the cheap pay of the labourers, who are so very few in comparison to the great working a mine of so much importance; but as none of the ore is smelted on the island, but is sold to the Tuscan, Roman, Corsican and Neapolitan agents who have furnaces for the occasion, the surprise at once ceases.

During my stay in Elba I also visited Porto Longone, a considerable fortress and small harbour opposite to the Tuscan coast, where I was very hospitably treated by the governor, an Irishman. It is garrisoned by Neapolitan troops, being annexed to the crown of the Two Sicilies, and extends as far as the tower of Voltoraio, where six soldiers defend the frontiers of the Tuscan state, marked out by stones placed in angular directions along the top of the ridge that encompasses the bay of Porto Ferrajo. The channel is about ten miles wide from hence across to the city of Piombino, from which you see the coast of Tuscany, which is flat and woody, backed at a great distance by the mountains of Sienna; those of Montenero near Leghorn bound the horizon to the north, and on the south quarter the ridge behind Orbitello, with the insulated promontory of Monte Argentato, some islands dispersed in the passage, and a great variety of vessels sailing in all directions, compose a most delightful marine piece worthy of a Claude or a Vernet.

I would wish it to be understood that, in attempting to describe the several places in and about Elba,

I have consulted Swinburne on many occasions, as it is from him I take my account of the iron mines of Rio and the distances of places in the island, as I conjecture he must have stated them very accurate, from having published his travels, and being acknowledged the best judge existing (next to Sir William Hamilton) of the Two Sicilies and places adjacent. If this author is incorrect in any part of his account of Elba, it is respecting the incapacity of the compass when near the island, and that 'there was the utmost confusion and variation in the needle most part of the day.' I will admit that if a compass is brought very near to the NE part of the island that it may be in some measure affected by the attractive power of the mines of Rio; but a vessel must be very near indeed to be within the reach of its magnetic action, for during the frequent times I have sailed round every part of it I never heard a remark made about the irregularity of the compass on board the ship, although I have very frequently been told this on shore. I shall conclude my little account of Elba with an anecdote taken from Swinburne of a Neapolitan woman, which might probably have been more correctly in its place while at Naples; but, as I am not yet out of Neapolitan ground, it will not be altogether improper to show the conduct of their women and the necessity there is of managing them in a particular cautious way.

'The women are always fighting and scolding,' says Swinburne, 'but never resist their husband's authority when he comes to separate the combatants and carry home his dishevelled spouse, who seems to stand as much in awe of her consort as the Russian wives do of theirs, and suffers herself to be beaten by him with as little murmuring. I was shown a woman here,' says he, 'who, during the life of her first husband, was a pattern of modesty and evenness

of temper to the whole parish; but, upon contracting a second marriage, surprised and scandalised the neighbourhood with her perpetual riots and obstreperousness. On being reprimanded for her behaviour by the curate, she very frankly acknowledged that her former husband understood the management of a wife, and used to check her intemperate bursts of passion by timely correction, but that her present helpmate was too mild to apply the proper chastisement, which every wife requires more or less.' 'Tis, to be sure, a very awkward mode of making the dear women keep within bounds; but this is a strong proof of its salutary effects, and, however ill suited to the delicate dispositions of the English ladies, might be applied to some of the most fashionable with a vast deal of propriety.

On December 28, being the anniversary of my birth, I gave a dinner to Commodore Nelson, the captains of the squadron, and several field officers of the army, and spent a very pleasant, comfortable day and night, as the company did not break up till two in the morning.[1] On the 29th a court martial was held on Captain Harrison, of the Dromedary, who was dismissed his ship; and on the following day I was appointed by the commodore to the command of her, and never was more distressed on going on board to find the first lieutenant, master, boatswain, and one of the midshipmen confined, to be tried also by court martial. On the very day I joined I was unfortunate enough to sit as one of the members of the court upon the master who was broke, and had not some senior captains arrived on the following day I should have sat on the first lieutenant, who

[1] None of the military officers are named in James' list. The naval officers, besides Nelson and Retalick, were Cockburn, Fremantle, Macnamara, Giffard, Wodehouse, Thomas Elphinstone, Isaac Coffin, and Dr. Harness. See Appendix C.

was reprimanded; on the boatswain, who was dismissed the ship; and on a midshipman, who was mulcted of his pay and time; and, in short, there perhaps never was a more unpleasant command given to an officer than that of the Dromedary at the time I now mention.

Commodore Nelson having had directions to withdraw the establishment of the yard from Porto Ferrajo, and convey them to Lisbon, I was ordered to receive on board Commissioner Coffin and the several officers and their families, and to proceed with the Southampton, Captain Macnamara, and his division, to the Tagus. We accordingly moved in three divisions on February 1, 1797, the commodore taking the course toward Toulon and down the coast of Spain with three frigates; the Dido, Captain Preston, with the Utile sloop and a convoy of transports, between Corsica and Elba, and round the south end of Sardinia, down the coast of Barbary, to Gibraltar; and the Southampton, Dolphin, Dromedary, and El Corso brig, prize to the former,[1] the same track to Lisbon.

We all separated by signal that evening, each following the orders he was under, and, passing close to Bastia, ran along the islands of Corsica and Sardinia, and rounded the south end of the latter on the 4th, making the Barbary shore, and getting as low as Algiers on the 6th, without having seen any strange sails or meeting with any accident. On the 7th instant, at daylight in the morning, Cape Tres Forcas bearing then about SSW, six or seven miles, we fell in with two heavy Spanish frigates of forty guns each, who, at first, put their heads towards us with an intention, we supposed, to give us battle; but upon our drawing up in a line, and meeting their

[1] *Sc.* the Southampton. She captured the Corso off Cape della Mele, on December 2, 1796.

wishes of closing, they, in a most shameful manner, made off under a crowd of sail, and suffered a very inferior force to remain masters of the field, and to pursue our voyage down the Gut with an invaluable store ship, badly manned, and a hospital ship infinitely less calculated to come to action with two heavy frigates; for both of us were but a bad match for one of them, and the other was far superior to the strength of the Southampton, who mounted only twelve-pounders against the enemy's eighteens.

We ran through the Gut of Gibraltar on the 10th, and on the 11th fell in with the Spanish fleet, amounting to about twenty-seven sail of the line besides frigates, when we had a still stronger proof of the Spaniards' good conduct and exertions; for, instead of dispatching their fast-sailing frigates in pursuit of us, they allowed us to reconnoitre their strength and situation, and in the end gave chase to us when, under cover of the night, we were almost sure to evade their lazy pursuit. The 12th, about eleven at night, we fell in with the Lively frigate, who informed us the admiral was to the southward of us, and in quest of the enemy. In the morning of the 13th we joined Sir John Jervis, and gave him every information respecting the situation of the Spanish fleet; and although he was then but fourteen sail of the line, the signal was made to prepare for battle, and the ships to make all possible sail.

If it was possible for misfortune to be more persecuting than she had been to me throughout my long servitude in the navy, she showed her desire to be so in this particular instance; for the moment was at hand when as proud a day for Britain's navy was to open as ever graced the annals of the country; but alas! 'Proceed,' says the admiral, 'to the Tagus with the Dromedary, for a store ship of her value must not be risked in

an action where the enemy has such a decided and singular advantage in point of ships, guns, and men.'

It was well known that glorious action happened on the 14th, the very day following, and scarce was I parted from the fleet—scarce had accepted the admiral's offer to take El Corso on my arrival in the Tagus in lieu of the Dromedary—when the greatest victory was obtained by the fleet I belonged to and the admiral who patronised me that ever before was fought by two contending nations. I shall not dwell on this melancholy event so far as respected myself any longer, but content myself by saying that a detention of twelve hours would have given me the rank of post captain, and have put about two thousand pounds in my pocket: and if we pursue the events that might have followed such a fortunate step, it is not improbable but it might have led me on to fortune, and have put me in a way to acquire fame by some distinguished action with a single ship of equal or superior force.

Having quitted the Dromedary and taken the command of El Corso,[1] a brig of eighteen six-pounders and six brass fours, and whose complement was established at one hundred and twenty-one men, I sailed from Lisbon on March 23, having then in all but thirty-nine men,[2] besides officers, of my complement, with sealed orders, taking with me the Thetis transport, with soldiers, and which I was to convoy so far as the latitude of 28° S,[3] and then cruise off Tenerife so long as my water and pro-

[1] Tucker (*Life of Earl St. Vincent*, vol. i. p. 115 *n*) speaks of this ship as the Rover. The official lists and log, however, give her the name of El Corso.

[2] Fifty-one, including twelve officers. The muster-book gives fifty-four.

[3] South in the MS. Clearly a mistake for North.

visions would last. Surely such flattering orders authorised me to hope and believe that fortune was at last about to be propitious to my wishes, and that now the moment was in view when every prospect brightened, and that I might indulge in the pleasing expectation of accumulating a little independence; but alas! those cheering rays of hope, all my dreams of happiness, was as soon destroyed and dispersed as they were presented to my imagination, and a circumstance as distressing about to visit me as any perhaps that ever followed me through the miserable and unfortunate voyages of my strange and unlucky life.

Nothing very important happened from Lisbon to my making the island of Palma on the 29th, when I prepared to give the Thetis her final instructions, and ordered her to proceed to Martinique. It was, however, Thursday, the 30th, at nine o'clock in the evening, before I totally quitted her, the island of Ferro then bearing East, sixteen leagues, when I hauled my wind to the NW in order to reach my cruising ground off Tenerife.

At six in the morning of March 31[1] I wore and stood to the SE, and at eight o'clock saw nine sail of ships to the eastward under a crowd of sail steering to the SSW; at nine o'clock I had advanced so near to them that I easily discovered them to be four sail of the line and five frigates, and shortly after found the headmost, which was a seventy-four, dispatched in chase of us by signal. The wind blew strong from the ESE, with a short, chopping sea, and the chase overpowered us with sail, insomuch that upon every attempt to carry top-gallant sails the halliards, ties, or sheets constantly gave way. At noon, finding the whole squadron

[1] March 30 by James' log.

was in pursuit of us, and the headmost ship coming up with us extremely fast, I kept away west and sat studding sails and everything I could pack upon her, and soon after had the mortification to see the studding-sail booms go fore and aft, the top-gallant ties, and lee main topsail sheet.

The chase at this moment was drawing fast up with us, the seas were running over the little brig, and the Spanish flags were displayed from the ships in pursuit of us with great confidence. I now judged it necessary to inform myself correctly what I had to trust to, and made the private signal accordingly, which, as I expected, they were unable to answer. Perfectly satisfied from this, as well as from every appearance and manœuvre, that they were enemies, I directed twenty casks of water to be started, and a quantity of provisions, with thirty-one pigs of iron ballast, to be thrown overboard. At two the headmost ship of the line opened a fire upon us from her bow chasers, and kept a constant cannonade during a regular approach upon our lee quarter. At three the shot fell in all directions round and ahead of us, and I expected momentarily either to see the masts go by the board or some fatal shot hit us under the counter that would decide our fate by sinking us; and though it was everybody's opinion that an escape was impracticable, if not totally impossible, I did not think myself in any manner justified to give up his Majesty's brig while a shadow of hope remained, or till I was compelled thereto by the loss of my masts, or some fatal accident from the enemy's fire. I therefore directed the both bower anchors to be cut away, an old bower cable to be thrown overboard, together with several casks of beef, pork, vinegar, rice, flour, callavances, and tar, some lengths of junk, round and double-headed shot, and all the water that we could conveniently come at, reserving

only a little to carry us to some land should we fortunately escape in the end.

As it now became necessary to display our colours, that no occasion should be given for any friend to fire on us, a red ensign and pennant was hoisted; and an increase of fire opened from the enemy, who at this time was within half gun-shot. The officers had shifted themselves and packed up their clothes, and the seamen had followed this imprudent example by putting on several shirts, trousers, &c. The evening was drawing on, and the sable curtain was about to be drawn in the east, when the most trying period arrived that I ever witnessed. Another half-hour might save us, but that little space of time would inevitably bring the enemy abreast of us, and darkness would accompany the horrors of being boarded by a nation yet but little noticed for their kindness or good treatment to their prisoners.

Still, I was not authorised, though with the consent and opinion of my officers and crew, to strike, and therefore again directed to lighten the brig by throwing overboard sixteen carriage guns and their carriages; and seeing that the heavens were disposed to assist this last and only exertion by causing a squall of wind and rain to follow us at this critical moment, I placed every man in his station for reducing the sail; and at eight o'clock, at the very instant the seventy-four was within hail and standing by to shorten sail in perfect certainty of taking us, and at the moment the squall took us, I clewed all up, put the helm a-weather, and under cover of this heaven-directed cloud, bore up out of the way of the chase, and then hove round to. It may easily be supposed how this ended. The squall threw the Spaniard into some confusion, and she ran a considerable distance past me before she discovered

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

months off the Canary Islands, notwithstanding our then distressed situation and the difficulty that would naturally follow such a resolution from the want of water, provisions and guns.

After beating to windward for eleven days, and using efforts of every kind to carry sail, we made the island of Tenerife on April 11, and that evening looked into Santa Cruz, where we saw a large ship of war at anchor, and soon after a sail in the offing, standing in for the road, to which we instantly gave chase, and which proved the Bella Paulina, Spanish brig, laden with wheat from Barbary, bound to Orotava in Tenerife. Finding our little prize was totally out of both provisions and water, and that the prisoners had greatly increased our expense of both, I was under the immediate necessity of seeking relief, being then at a half-pint of water a day in a climate excessive warm, and where salt provisions added greatly to our distress. The islands of Lanzarote and Graciosa, although belonging to Spain, struck me as the most likely places to afford us relief, as it was infinitely more defenceless than any settlement the enemy had in those seas. I accordingly made sail with my prize for Allegranza, and waiting there for a favourable moment, bore up at noon on the 13th instant for El Rio harbour, and anchored alongside a Spanish brig, which was instantly boarded and made a prize of. I made no hesitation in taking the little water the Spaniard had on board, nor in heading a party of seamen to forage, which I did so successfully that in the course of a few hours I returned with a hundred and twenty goats.

On the 16th, taking with me a Spanish prisoner as a guide, I landed on the island of Lanzarote with a strong party of my best seamen and marines, and was collecting a quantity of cattle and sheep when

a considerable body of the natives, armed and furious, came rapidly down the mountains, and obliged us to embark with only three bullocks and six sheep, which I persevered in carrying off, although it was attended nearly with the total destruction of our whole party. The foraging parties in Graciosa were more successful. No danger attended any enterprise in that island, while the brig could cover the landing place. But our company was so small, and our prisoners so very numerous in proportion, that it became necessary to leave the greatest part of our people on board to guard them. The article which we stood so much in want of, and of which we were reduced to the last cask, except the few brackish casks we procured from the Spaniard, was not by any means to be procured here, for although I assured the Spaniards that if they would bring me a boat-load of water I would give them the brig, yet I found that it was altogether impossible, and that not a drop was to be found within several miles of the sea, where it was utterly out of our power to go in quest of it. Seriously taking into consideration our distressed situation and finding that it was impossible to feed so many additional mouths, I released all my prisoners, gave the Spaniards the brig we took in the harbour, and sending Lieutenant Miller to Madeira with the Bella Paulina prize, to whom we gave greatest part of our water, I proceeded directly for the Gran Canaria, in hopes of procuring water, either by fair means or open war; and I left Graciosa on April 18, having on board three bullocks, six sheep, and two hundred and forty goats.

I cannot omit mentioning a wager that took place while at the island of Graciosa, between Mr. Herbert, the first lieutenant, and myself, for five guineas, in consequence of the exertions made by us

severally to run down the goats. A distance round a mountain, supposed by the majority of the officers to be six miles from the starting post back to the same place, was marked out by placing men at the distance of half a mile asunder, and whoever walked the most times round this mountain was to win the wager; no refreshment was to be taken but wine and water, which was placed at each post, nor any limited time to give up. We commenced at six in the morning, walking different ways round the mountain, the choice of which Lieutenant Herbert won, and continued walking till seven in the evening, at which time Mr. Herbert gave up, having gone round six times; and that there might be no possible dispute about my winning, as also to call in the several posts, I completed my seventh round, and won the field against an officer considerably under his twenty-first year. The road was full of variety; it was up a steep, rugged hill, and down a quick, unpleasant descent, along the side of a sharp, rocky cliff, and through a vale of short, stiff shrubs and pits, down against the first starting post, and was such altogether as made the walk equal to sixty miles on a turnpike road.

On the 20th we saw [a] sail to the northward, to which we gave chase, and at four in the afternoon she tacked and stood towards us, and proved the Hind, privateer, of Liverpool, bound to Africa, of fourteen guns, commanded by Hamlet Mullen, from whom we procured two casks of water and a bag of potatoes. The Salvages was at this time in sight, and our flock of goats, bullocks, and sheep discovering their distress and thirst by continual bleats and murmurs. Nor were we much better supplied; all cooking with fresh water was abolished, the use of tea denied, and the strictest attention paid to serving out our scanty purser's half-pint, which at this period

had not been enlarged upon the present regulation of measures.[1]

On the 21st we made Tenerife; and on the 22nd sailed along the south side of the Gran Canaria, in hopes of seeing some favourable bay or creek, where we might venture to attempt a landing and procure water; but every effort of the kind was unsuccessful; and a gale of wind coming on, we were driven to leeward of the island, which we, however, regained on the 23rd, when it fell calm, and a strange sail was seen under the land. I directed the first lieutenant and master to man and arm the boats and go in pursuit of her, and notwithstanding she had ran on shore and the crew had quitted her, I had the satisfaction to find them bring her down to me with a cargo of fish, which, though of no great value, was, however, a relief to us, enabling me to serve fish in lieu of goats. The same day two other brigs were seen in the offing, chased, and made prizes of, and out of which we had the mortification to take forty-one prisoners, without getting a spoonful of water. A fourth fishing brig was taken on the 24th and our prisoners increased to upwards of sixty, at which time our whole complement did not make up thirty men. It therefore became necessary to land them, and I stood into Maspalomas, hoisted out my boats and gave liberty to fifty-seven poor wretches, who in an hour and half was at the doors of their huts in the midst of their disconsolate wives and children.

Gales and calms were our constant companions,

[1] Wine, spirits, and beer were supplied to the ships by the standard gallon of 277·274 cubic inches, but the practice had crept in—presumably for the benefit of the purser—of issuing them to the ships' companies by the Winchester gallon of 231 cubic inches. The purser's half-pints thus contained only 14·475 cubic inches instead of 17·33 cubic inches. The practice was abolished and standard measures directed to be used, by an order of the Commissioners of Victualling, dated April 25, 1797.

and I was so plagued with the distressed prizes that, having parted with two of them in want of everything, I burnt the other to avoid any further accidents; and I had the misfortune to hear after that one had been driven in the greatest distress to the West Indies and taken by a privateer, that the other had been sunk by one of our frigates after saving the master and men. A spirit of discontent began now to appear among some worthless scoundrels, and I made a most serious example of a marine for refusing to take his bread on a pretence of its being small, and eating fish in lieu of provisions. Hitherto we had existed from the chance supplies of friends, from the assistance of rain from heaven, and a trifling collection of water from prizes; but we were now driven to the westward of Ferro,[1] without any hopes of benefiting by either of those circumstances, and I determined instantly on landing upon the Gran Canaria and water, or perish in the attempt; and that no time should be lost, I made all possible sail for that island, from which we were only distant about fifteen leagues.

At one o'clock on May 3 we saw a ship ahead, to which we gave chase, and which proved the Fair Penitent, privateer, of sixteen guns, from Liverpool, on a cruise. This turned out another very unexpected relief, as from her we obtained about thirty gallons of water, though she was herself very short. Having communicated my resolution of watering to the commander of this ship, he offered to join in the expedition from my promising that I would not take any of his men, which I readily consented to; and on the 5th instant we came to an anchor on the SE side of the Gran Canaria, Punta de Maspalomas

[1] Ferro is not mentioned in the log, and it is clear that the ship was not, at this time, anywhere near it. Gran Canaria is noted as N.E. seven leagues.

SE by E ½ E, Pta. de Taoza NNW ½ W, the landing place NNE, distance off shore one mile, in seven fathoms, fine sand.

The several boats being ready, I put myself at the head of twenty seamen and twelve marines from the Corso and thirty seamen from the Fair Penitent, and completed a landing without any opposition. A party of men was instantly employed watering, and another wooding, and every precaution was used to prevent a surprise from the natives, some of which had ventured down to our encampment and brought fowls, eggs, &c. for sale. In every intercourse of this kind I used every endeavour to cultivate a good understanding, and assured them my only motive for landing was to obtain some water, which done I should quit the shore without molesting either the inhabitants or their property; and so very cautious was I to keep upon friendly terms with them that I did not allow any officer above a midshipman to visit the shore, nor any purchase to be made without paying whatever the Spaniards demanded, which was generally extravagant to a degree.

Unfortunately this disposition of peace did not continue long, and a circumstance happened which brought on an open war. I had frequently gone two miles from the beach to a small village and conversed with the inhabitants without the smallest apprehension; but on the 7th I was informed by a man from the encampment that two seamen had deserted. I mentioned this to the villagers, and pointed out the necessity there was of keeping up our confidence and friendship with each other by their immediately seeking and giving up the deserters, to which they instantly consented, and absolutely went in quest of them into the woods. On the 8th four more ran off, and was followed in the evening by two others, so that I dreaded losing the

whole party on shore, most of my crew having been pressed or turned out of other ships of war for most notorious crimes and offences. Everything now began to wear the face of war; I dared not trust myself again to the village. A body of men assembled on the hills that formed the valley, and drums proclaimed the hostile advance of the neighbouring militia. In short, both parties prepared for the attack, and I drew up my forces in the plain to meet the consequences that was to follow; for retreating was out of the question, as we had not boats to embark the half of us, and a defeat must have produced the loss of our casks, if not the brig herself. Thus was things situated on the morning of the 9th, when a general officer had encamped on the hill, and his forces did not consist of less than a thousand men; in fact, I was the only one who numbered them so moderately, and I am sure I have considerably lessened their force, having, as will appear, had great opportunity of being very exact in that respect. The watering was continued with all possible exertion, a small battery was formed on the peninsula near the boats, and barricaded with logs of wood, casks of water, &c., and everything was in readiness to withstand an attack and secure a retreat.

About noon the enemy commenced hostilities by firing on our advanced sentinels; when, taking with me one of my people who spoke good Spanish, I advanced to the top of the mountain with a flag of truce, and expostulated with the commanding officer against the conduct he pursued, assuring him of my determination to maintain peace and good order until he obliged me to the contrary, and that if he molested my people in the smallest degree I would destroy the corn in the valley and burn the village to the ground. Though this was productive of very civil replies and an assurance of complying with my

request, I could easily perceive that they held my threats in the most sovereign contempt; and, beholding their own numbers, securely situated some hundred yards above a handful of men in a vale, smiled at the idea of my putting in execution a scheme so big with destruction to myself. This night was passed with the utmost caution, and I hourly visited my advanced guard and held my forces in readiness to receive the enemy; but so peaceable and friendly were we on both sides that the Spanish officer commanding on the hill sent down a soldier to request of me a bottle of wine, being exposed much to the cold; which, of course, I sent him, with offers of anything else I had in my hut below.

In the morning of the 10th I plainly perceived that the enemy was collecting fast, and that they only waited a favourable opportunity of attacking me, having been forming in various positions and renewing hostilities by a repetition of fire on our sentinels. I therefore determined to take advantage of an attack, and proceeded to secrete the marines (which consisted of a corporal and eleven privates) and twenty chosen men from the Corso under the extreme end of the mountain. The rest of the people, with the thirty men from the Fair Penitent, I drew up under the fig trees in the vale; and placing myself at the head of the marines and seamen before mentioned, began to ascend this perpendicular and rugged hill unperceived by the enemy; until, having advanced close to the brow, and drawn a little breath, when with three cheers we stormed their encampment, received the fire of their advanced sentinels and a volley from a body of men under arms, and, charging their rear, put them totally to the rout, wounding and keeping them upon a hand-gallop a full mile and half; and, however strange this account may appear, I was obliged to continue

my pursuit in this manner to prevent such a body of men from looking behind or rallying, as it was impossible for any of us to retreat before the enemy from this height, had they viewed the few before whom they were so cowardly flying. The forces in the vale having kept pace with us up the valley, we joined on the brow of the hill above the village, and, entering this deserted place, set fire to the whole amidst a heavy fire of musketry from the several hills above us. I returned again down the vale in two columns, and, placing proper sentinels on the outposts, beat 'The Roast Beef of Old England' and went to dinner, finding two of my men missing, which I had reason to believe were killed in the village, as they were two of my best and [most] trusty quartermasters, who would not, I am sure, leave their ship.

I should have rested here and considered my revenge equal to the injury I had sustained had not the enemy again advanced with loud huzzas and shown every inclination to renew the combat; but finding that they were inclined to give us battle under the advantage of a thick copse to the left of the vale through which ran the river we were watering at, I moved on towards the village on the banks of the river with the Corso's, directing the Fair Penitent's to advance in the centre of the vale and be ready to assist me, should I require it, on my arrival at the village, as I dreaded they might avail themselves of this road, and, getting between us and the water, cut off our retreat. In a pumpkin field under a ridge of rocks near the village a body of the enemy commenced an attack upon us in very superior numbers, and our situation was for some time very doubtful and uncomfortable. I had dispatched Mr. Lark, the purser, to bring on the privateer's men, who were then abreast of us in the vale, and sent a second and

third order to that effect, but it produced nothing but a cry from the whole of them of 'Advance, Fair Penitent's! Advance, advance, Fair Penitent's, advance!'

Seeing, however, that they firmly kept their ground, I directed the marines to charge a body of the enemy on a small hillock; which no sooner done than their fire made the whole give way, and we remained masters of this field of pumpkins, which I allowed the people to gather in the proportion of two to each man, and in which the Fair Penitents assisted, having at the close of the battle advanced with great resolution. On my return to the fig-trees I piled the corn, which was then cut, together, and at sunset consumed the whole, as a hint to the owners not to act again in the perfidious and faithless manner they had done, and to show them at the same time that what I had threatened in case of their being treacherous I was able, even with the handful of men I commanded, to put in execution. I must further observe, as a proof of my being driven to this last act by the impropriety of the sole owner of the vale, that I had him in my custody as a hostage long before hostilities commenced; that I treated him kindly, assisted him with many things from the brig, and gave him permission to go to his family under a promise that he would procure me the deserters and peaceable leave to water the ships; that no force should be collected, no molestation whatever offered, nor the good understanding between us in any manner broken; yet, upon my going up the hill with flags of truce, this Don had assembled his villagers to join the militia, was the very man who fired on the sentinels, and who to my face refused the deserters and dared me to the combat.

We retreated to our battery before dark, and having completed the watering about midnight, pre-

pared for embarkation by sending off the seamen, the musketoons from the battery, and all our camp utensils; and about two o'clock, having scoured the bushes with round and grape from our two six-pounders on board, set fire to the battery and embarked the marines, left the enemy to digest their loss and blame themselves for the damage they had sustained through their treachery, their folly, and their cowardice. We parted company the same day with the Fair Penitent, who stood to the NW, while I stood to the eastward with a view of intercepting a Spanish polacre of sixteen guns that I had information was loading with corn at Mazagan for Tenerife; conceiving that, was I lucky enough to fall in with her, I might, by boarding her, replace the loss of my guns.

On the 13th I saw the island of Fuerteventura, under the SW end of which I cruised till the 14th, when I stood to the NNW, and on the 15th was in sight of the NE end of Tenerife, where I fell in with and spoke his Majesty's frigate Lively and Minerve, on a cruise, to whom I communicated my situation and intention of proceeding to Gibraltar; and on the 20th I made that island; and, after a stay of ten days, proceeded with the prize Bella Paulina to sea, having supplied ourselves with a month's provisions. The passage from Madeira to Gibraltar was both long and unpleasant, as the prize met with many accidents in the several gales we had, and lost her boat in attempting to save a man who fell overboard and was drowned. I arrived at Gibraltar on June 28, having nearly lost both El Corso and prize by a very severe attack from eight gunboats and the fire of the batteries from Tarifa; but at the moment I expected little less than being sunk, a light air of wind sprung up and enabled me to keep a running fight with my two guns as stern-chasers

until I got under the protection of our batteries at Europa Point. The prize was not, however, so fortunate, as she was black-strapt, and did not arrive until the following day, when the first lieutenant, Mr. Herbert, was promoted to the rank of master and commander.

The admiral had heard a very imperfect account of my cruise and loss of my guns, etc., and being at this time blocking up Cadiz, did not suppose I had encountered the difficulty he learned from a log of my proceedings, but had absolutely ordered me to England in the state I then was in; however, upon receiving my letter, he directly ordered me to join him off Cadiz, which I did on July 11, having procured only two additional guns from Gibraltar, and my complement consisting then of only forty men. On my arrival in the fleet my signal was made not to anchor; and in two hours I was dispatched to join the Lively and Minerve off the Canary Islands, having procured a few stores from the Ville de Paris and a boat from the Diadem; and, thus situated, with four guns and forty men, I was again sent to cruise three months, from a desire the admiral had, I believe, to throw me once more in the way of fortune.

On July 17 I made the Desertas, and on the 18th spoke the two frigates Lively and Minerve, and having delivered my dispatches, followed them into Funchal Road, Madeira, where, without anchoring, we took in some refreshments, and where also I was reinforced with four mutineers that had been landed from the Thames frigate, and with two others from the Lively, who had also broken out in a very alarming way. Captain Hallowell[1] had also supplied me with two of his quarter-deck guns, and I began to feel myself once more a little formidable,

[1] Afterwards Sir Benjamin Hallowell Carew. Died, an admiral and G.C.B., in 1834.

though I had great reason to dread my people, who were men of all nations, and many delegates from the Channel fleet turned on shore, as mentioned above. But I gave them no time for reflection. Good, wholesome victuals, constant employ, and very severe flogging for every offence was their allowance; and an example I made of one mutinous fellow for an improper speech to the boatswain, by giving him twelve dozen lashes, very effectually put a stop to consequences that might have been fatal, and which was evident in the end; as one of my people, who I sent in a prize, was tried, condemned, and executed on board the Ville de Paris, off Cadiz, for mutiny of the most daring nature.

On the 20th we separated for a week to cruise for a Spanish ship under American colours, called by the new name of Washington, the Lively choosing the SE, the Minerve the NW, and myself, from necessity as the junior captain, the SW. On the 23rd I saw a sail in the NE, which I was sure was the Washington. It blew a hard gale, and as she was a very large ship, mounting twelve twelve-pounders and as many sixes, I was apprehensive I should make but a bad hand of my six little guns, constantly buried under water. However, about ten at night I got alongside of her, and after an exchange of a few guns, she struck to a brig which she might have stowed in her hold; and on the 25th I joined the frigates, who had taken nothing, and who I had agreed to share with during our cruising together, or, in fact, so long as I continued under the command of the Lively. Captain Hallowell, pleased with our success, and desirous of making me as formidable as possible, gave me four more six-pounders, and allowed me to keep the people I found serviceable in the Washington, so that I now mounted ten guns and had about sixty

men, which was exactly the half of my complement of guns and men—the Corso mounting twenty six-pounders and six brass fours, and her establishment being one hundred and twenty-one men.

We separated for another week in different directions round the island, during which I visited Porto Santo, and found it a most commodious place for anchoring, though I did not bring up in the bay, but had communication by boats from the shore. On August 2 we separated once more for a much longer period, Captain Hallowell taking with him the Minerve to the Western Islands, and indulging my request of going upon my old ground off the Canary Islands; and we parted on the evening of that day, myself crowding all possible sail to the SW; and about sunset we espied a schooner to the NW who at that time was in chase of us. I instantly stood toward her, and soon found she was a French privateer of very superior force, in point of both guns and men, as I had information of her sailing from Tenerife with a hundred of the Mutine's men, that was cut out of that island by the above two frigates.[1] At ten in the night we came to action, and, after a very brisk fire till twelve, saw her, as we conceived, strike by hauling down her colours and sails; but this was only to prepare her sweeps, which at this time the Corso was not provided with; and we had the mortification to see her row off in a calm, but not without receiving our two last broadsides within half musket-shot; so that I am well convinced we must have done much execution among their men while at the sweeps. In the morning we spoke the

[1] On May 29, 1797, by the boats of the frigates, under the command of Lieutenant Thomas Masterman Hardy, of the Minerve, who was promoted to the command of her. This was the same Hardy whose name is so familiarly known in connection with that of Nelson.

Minerve, who had been drawn down in consequence of hearing our little action; but neither of us saw anything of the enemy, and each once more proceeded on toward the destined cruising ground.

On the 5th instant I made Tenerife; on the 6th chased a brig into Orotava, which night prevented me from following too close in shore; on the 7th and 8th I lay to under the west end of Tenerife in a very heavy gale of wind, and on the 9th proceeded off Canaria and set up my rigging, and repaired the damage of the gale. At sunset we saw two ships standing round the west end of the island, the one being very large, with a stern gallery, and the other a polacre, following her close astern, to whom, when dark, the large ship showed a poop light. Not being able to make out their force, I followed them till daylight, when I hauled between the two and fired a shot at the headmost, who hoisted Genoese colours and brought to; when, on boarding her, I found she had not been legally condemned, and therefore made a prize of her, putting the second lieutenant and twelve men into her; and, preparing to attack the polacre, which I found was the one I had before cruised for, mounting sixteen six-pounders, and who, I was informed by the Felicity, came out purposely to give me battle. Indeed, I had received many insolent messages from her commander by the fishing boats, saying that he would bring the two-gun man-of-war into Tenerife; for the Bella Paulina and her cargo belonged to him, as did also the Felicity, which I had then taken before his face, and which ship mounted ten nine-pounders and had forty-seven men. But this man's disposition for fighting was never serious or genuine, as it will prove hereafter, when chance at last threw me so favourably in his way that he could not escape; when I captured him.

Having, however, secured the Felicity and exchanged prisoners, during which time the polacre was coming up with great appearance of determined resolution, I stood toward him with all the sail I could crowd, when, his heart again failing him, he hauled his wind in shore and anchored under the batteries of Isleta Bay[1] on the SE end of the Gran Canaria, leaving me in quiet possession of his Felicity, with which I made sail to the southwards. On the 14th I found the prize totally inattentive to my signals and on a different tack, which obliged me to make sail after her, when I found the prisoners had rose on the officer and people, and would have succeeded in retaking her had I not very fortunately suspected their design. I therefore was obliged to weaken the Corso by sending some additional men and removing a number of prisoners from her, for her greater security; and I instantly determined on sending her off for Madeira after I had seen her in a fair way toward that island. On the 16th, being then in sight of the land of Barbary about Roquete,[2] I saw five brigs, to which I gave chase, and whom I found to be laden with fish belonging to the Spaniards at Tenerife; but as I had during my last cruise so much bad success with these vessels, and they were so full of men, I permitted them all to proceed after having supplied the ship's company with a day's fish.

On the 19th I had been so plagued with the prize that I could not weather the Gran Canaria; but, standing in close to Isleta Bay, saw my old friend the polacre still at an anchor, as little inclined as ever to put his fighting threats into execution. On the 24th, however, I dispatched the prize to Madeira; and on the 27th gave chase to a brig in

[1] Apparently Puerto de la Luz, at the N.E. end of the island.
[2] Lat. 26° 45′ nearly.

the NW, which, after a chase of fourteen hours, I took, being the Gran Poder de Dios, or Volunteer of God, Spanish brig from Tenerife, bound to Lanzarote, in which we found six hundred cobs;[1] and instantly chased again in the NW, and captured another Spanish brig called the Virgin Mary, from the same place, bound to Lanzarote for corn, from which we also took about five hundred cobs. The number of prisoners I now had, and the reduced state of my own crew from manning the Felicity and those two prizes, obliged me to direct the surgeon, purser, and all idle hands in that way to keep watch, having at this period forty-one prisoners on board; and from the circumstances of the prizes having but little water, from the shortness of their run from island to island, I had so reduced my stock by supplying them that I found it was high time to think of replenishing; and I bore up for the SW end of Tenerife for that purpose, having found they had erected a battery on the point of my old watering place at the Gran Canaria, and judging it better to try a place where I had not before committed any depredations.

On the 29th I fell in with the Minerve, from whom I found she had separated the day before from the Lively, and that neither of them had seen or taken anything. Mortifying as this account was, I was much benefited by that frigate taking twenty-four of my prisoners from me, and supplying me with nine puncheons of water, which enabled me to beat again to windward, and for a time give up the intention of watering from the shore; for as our allowance of water was never indulged beyond a pint a day, and we lived hard in every other respect, our expenditure, of course, was not extravagant; and it

[1] Dollars, reckoned at 4*s*. *Cf. post*, p. 363.

was always the custom for the officers who dined or breakfasted with me to find their own water.

On September 1, about five o'clock in the morning, I saw the Lively coming round the NE end of Tenerife, when I made the signal to her that the sail in the NE was the Minerve, and that the one in the NW was suspicious, when she made my signal to chase in that quarter, which having spoke, proved the Trial, an American from Madeira bound to Orotava; about which time the Minerve made the signal for a sail in the SE, and a general chase took place.

About five in the evening the chase ran into the NE bay of Isleta, and came to an anchor under the batteries; when the Minerve, in a very gallant manner, followed and engaged both ship and batteries till she had silenced the one and brought off the other; being seconded by the Lively in a way that reflected the highest honour on the two commanders. The Corso I had quitted about an hour before, and was on board with Captain Hallowell, the brig's signal being made to join the other prizes; but I had the satisfaction to see this spirited attack on board the frigates, and the capture of the Marsellais, French letter of marque of twenty-eight guns and eighty men, laden with sugar, coffee, and cotton, which put two thousand pounds into each of the captains' pockets, and was the best and only good prize we had taken off those islands in a cruise of six months.

Having joined the Corso, I made sail to the NE to pick up my prizes, which had been run out of sight during the chase, and which I fell in with off the NE end of Tenerife on the morning of the 4th instant. About noon, finding the necessity of watering—the frigates being unable to assist me, from the number of prisoners they now had as well

as myself—I bore up for Punta de Teno, on the NW side of Tenerife, where, meeting with a lugger, I chased her to the island of Gomera, and she ran on shore under cover of a multitude of the natives, and where the surf ran too high to board her with our boats.

On the 6th I returned again to Tenerife and landed a sick gentleman and fifty prisoners of all nations, and the same evening went myself, when dark, in my boat, to examine the watering place; but I found it so hazardous, and was so roughly handled by the natives rolling large rocks upon our boat from the hills, that I gave up every thought of procuring any from this island; and on the 7th I was joined by the Minerve, who landed all her prisoners, except eighteen, which she put on board me as an excuse to send a flag with them to Orotava, to which port I was ordered to repair; and having received two tons and a half water from the frigates as the last they could spare, we parted company by their proceeding to Madeira and myself to execute the orders of looking into Orotava and Santa Cruz, after which I was to proceed after them to Madeira, and from thence to Lisbon. On the 8th, finding that I should subject myself to great distress for want of provisions and water by attempting to wait for the Virgin Mary, I stripped her of everything that was useful and set her on fire; and on the 13th I sent the first lieutenant into Orotava with a flag of truce and all the prisoners, and having in vain attempted to get my other prize to windward, I put the Spanish master and a Corsican boy on board her; and in consideration of four hundred cobs, which the poor man brought from the shore, and from his having lost a thousand that the Spaniards had seized, and which he also was to pay for his brig, I gave him up the Volunteer of God, and made sail with all the

information that was necessary respecting the port of Orotava.

On September 19 I fetched round the NE end of Tenerife, and the same evening bore up for Santa Cruz, but a most severe equinoctial gale came on, that surpassed all I had seen for some years, and drove us in great distress to leeward of the Gran Canaria, continuing till the 20th with the greatest violence, during which time we split most of our storm sails, carried away the main chain-plates, the bowsprit spring, and the brig, in fact, shook to pieces. On the 21st, the gale having become, as usual, a perfect calm, I repaired my damage as well as possible, filled our empty casks with salt water to stiffen the brig, and on the 22nd once more made the island of Tenerife; but as delays became now too serious with the water and provisions we had on board, I resolved to make the best of my way to Madeira without sending the flag of truce to Santa Cruz: and on the 23rd I saw the island of Lanzarote, and gave chase to a brig in the SE quarter, which I was coming up with very fast; but upon her bearing up and running to leeward I gave up chase for the reasons above given.

The 24th I was informed that it was necessary to reduce the bread to a quarter-pound per day, that the coals and wood was all expended, that the last butt of water was in broach, and that the main topsail must be unbent to repair, having no other to bend in its stead. I had been so accustomed to dismal tales of this kind all my life at sea that I could only reply, 'Patience! We shall soon reach Madeira, and then we shall have plenty of all the good things of this life:' but to some of the most notorious of the crew the consolation was not acceptable, and seditious tumult began to rear its head, which I appeased by administering a few doses of

the oil of cat, which soon restored the most cordial intimacy between our unavoidable distress and the vile disposition of our mutineers. Every day no doubt seemed an age, and on the 27th the long-wished-for island hove in sight; and that day we anchored in Funchal road, where we learned that the frigates and prizes had sailed three days before for Lisbon.

I lost no time in supplying the brig with what was absolutely necessary, and on October 1st sailed again from the island, having seen a ship in the offing standing toward the road; but what was my surprise when I found it to be my old friend the polacre, who so often had threatened to thrash me, and who now had no opportunity of running into port, but was obliged to fight or give up his ship. I had at this period ten six-pounders, and about thirty-nine men; the rest were with my second lieutenant and a midshipman in the prizes. He had sixteen six-pounders and about seventy men, assisted by a brave, active French officer, who lived with me after, and from whom I had the story of his proceedings, which was positively to fight me, and for which he was absolutely ready, with his tompions out and laying main-topsail to the mast. Having stood to leeward with all the dispatch possible, I hauled my wind directly across his fore-foot, and lashing his bowsprit to my quarter, ordered him instantly to strike or stand the consequence of our fire; but scarce had I spoken when his people fled below, and a holy father, in his priestly habit, solicited quarters for all hands, while the young Frenchman was crying out, 'Oh God d—n, d—n Spaniard, d—n Genoe, d—n cowards.'

Having without loss of time shifted prisoners, and put the first lieutenant on board her, I made sail to the SW, and the following day weathered the

the Wolf Rock on the 28th instant, but from the badness of the weather did not arrive at Falmouth until November 30, after a passage of fifteen days; where having continued till December 31 waiting for a return of dispatches, amidst the usual west country weather of continual rain, wind, and dirt, I received my orders and proceeded again on my voyage back to the Tagus, passing with a very scant wind round Ushant, across the Bay of Biscay to Cape Prior, and from thence along shore to Cape Ortegal, round Cape Finisterre, and down the coast of Portugal.

On January 7, 1798, the Burlings South, seven or eight leagues, about three in the morning, a brig and lugger privateer came upon each quarter, and commenced a fire on us without the usual ceremony of hailing, which obliged us to shorten sail and prepare to receive them; but upon the day breaking they both made off, while I continued my course, being deprived the pleasure of pursuing them from having admiralty dispatches on board. I arrived at Lisbon on the 8th, after a passage of seven days; and having completed my water and got on board a supply of provisions and stores, sailed again on the 12th for Gibraltar. On the 15th I fell in with Admiral Sir William Parker off Cadiz; and on the 16th with the Terpsichore, who I supplied with twelve bags of bread; and on the 17th arrived at Gibraltar, once more pelted through the Gut by the confounded gunboats, which were now become so daring as to attack ships of the line, and which was absolutely worse to encounter with than ships of ten times the force. On the 26th, a convoy having appeared, and the gunboats of the enemy having attacked them, Captain Thompson, of the Leander, ordered the gunboats from the Rock, together with the ship's boats, to their protection, and about one

o'clock a very hot action commenced from the gunboats, the garrison, and the ships; and having received directions from the commodore to board, who with all the captains were in boats on the occasion, we gave way and obliged them to fly before our little force, which was not equal to half their number; and, from what we learned the day following, they suffered a considerable loss of men, while our loss consisted only of four men, who were killed on shore by the shot flying over our heads among the houses in the garrison.

The Corso was now become as formidable as she could possibly be made; she mounted sixteen sixes and two twelve-pound cannonades on the main deck and six brass fours on her quarter, and was well manned with one hundred and twenty men; and I sailed to strengthen a convoy through the Gut on February 24: and on March 1 anchored again at Gibraltar, not in the least neglected by the Spanish gunboats, who kicked me with twenty-four pound shot from Tarifa to Europa Point, the reaching which was always as much comfort to ships and vessels of small force as the end of a journey to a weary pilgrim who had arrived barefooted from the tomb of Mahomet.

On March 6 we sailed from Gibraltar in company with his Majesty's ships Leander, Terpsichore, and Bonne Citoyenne, and proceeded to the eastward. On the 13th the Terpsichore ran on board us and carried away our jib-boom and fore top-gallant mast, and had very near sunk us, which was prevented by the officer of the watch throwing all aback in time to allow her to pass our bows. On the 14th, Cartagena bearing N by E, three or four leagues, we captured a French brig from Oran, bound to Alicante with corn; and on the 18th made the island of Minorca, from whence, on the 22nd, we

made Sardinia, and, passing Cape Bon on the 24th, came to an anchor in the bay of Tunis on Sunday, March 25.

On the 26th the boats were manned, and at dark proceeded, under the command of Captain Retalick and myself, into the harbour of Tunis to cut out a French ship and brig at anchor in that place; and about eight o'clock of a very fine, calm moonlight night we put off and rowed toward the harbour, from which our ships lay at anchor about six miles, but close under the ancient and renowned city of Carthage, whose ruins I beheld with delight and veneration, and whose queen I fancied I could see in the deepest distress at the departure of her beloved Trojan:

> 'The moon shines bright :—In such a night as this,
> When the sweet wind did gently kiss the trees,
> And they did make no noise; in such a night,
> Troilus, methinks, mounted the Trojan walls,
> And sighed his soul toward the Grecian tents,
> Where Cressid lay that night.
>
> In such a night
> Stood Dido, with a willow in her hand,
> Upon the wide sea banks, and waft her love
> To come again to Carthage.'

In short, I never beheld so fine, so still, so beautiful a night, and I may proceed to say, in the words of the poet:

> 'This night, methinks, is but the daylight sick.
> It looks a little paler; 'tis a day
> Such as the day is when the sun is hid.'

Yes, I could fancy ten thousand pleasant things; and I amused myself, as rowing into Tunis harbour, more with thoughts of Dido and the Trojans than I did about the two French vessels or the consequences of boarding them.

About ten o'clock we got into the harbour, where

lay at anchor a vast number of vessels of all nations, and of course made it very difficult to distinguish the one from the other; but having a good description given us of their appearance, and finding from the noise on board a brig close to us that we were discovered, Captain Retalick directed us to give way and board, which we did with the expected success, while he pursued some boats making for the shore with some property from the brig. Leaving one man in possession of the brig, and taking with me a Frenchman as a guide, I directed a lieutenant in the Leander's cutter to take care of the brig while I went after Captain Retalick to the attack of the ship; but mistaking a Turkish ship of war for the Frenchman, from the information of my rascally guide, a most fatal matter had nearly put an end to us all. The Turks, astonished at the noise of our huzzas, and seeing a barge rowing toward them with hostile intentions, flew instantly to quarters, and in their language bid us keep off. The bow was tossed and the boat absolutely alongside when we discovered them to be Turks, and so numerous that they were at least three hundred, armed with muskets, pikes, and sabres.

'The moon shone bright,' and, like the miserable, 'we had no other medicine but hope.' The perfect silence that took place instantly, and the civil appearance of my apology—for it was not understood—together with our trivial force compared to theirs, brought on a parley, which saved us from inevitable destruction; for had one musket gone off on either side, had a man moved towards the side of the ship, or had the Turks been precipitated as usual into action, not a man of us would have seen our way back by that moon which had guided us to the harbour of Tunis. It is needless for me to say how excessively civil, grateful, and pleased we were at

our departure from alongside the Turkish ship; nor did we carry thence with us that spirit for enterprise which we had brought with us from the brig, and I believe there was not a man among us that felt the least disappointment at Captain Retalick's having carried the ship in our absence.

Having left the prizes to the care of his lieutenants, which I ought to observe was a light ship and a brig with cotton, Captain Retalick and myself returned to the Leander with an account of our expedition to the commodore, who very naturally bestowed upon us the usual compliments attending a successful enterprise. This, of course, is ample payment, for 'he is well paid that is satisfied;' and by this little adventure it was still more flattering that we had made about three hundred pounds prize money. I cannot take leave of this noble and very extensive bay without expressing my warmest encomiums on its beauty, its eligibility, and its security. Here at anchor once rode the grand fleets of Carthage; here flourished a more extensive commerce than among all the other nations of the world; here, we are told, 'was all the splendour, power, and glory of the states of Barbary; here the fairest jewel in the imperial diadem when Rome was mistress of the world.'

Carthage still contains some curious remains of antiquity. A few of the aqueducts are still remaining, and stupendous magnificence mark their ancient grandeur and populousness; but it's so difficult to obtain permission to visit many of their curiosities, especially if they are near the seraglios of their women, that it is almost a total bar to accomplishing it; and to this may be added the more rational reason—that of avoiding the plague, which this country is seldom, if ever, totally clear of. The women are handsome, and from their confinement

have delicate complexions; they are neat in their dress, and, from what I could discover through their veils, had remarkable fine teeth and eyes. A leading pasha having come on board from the Dey of Tunis with a present of bullocks and vegetables to the four ships, we each had some little memento of his kindness, and he presented me with his tobacco pouch from his side, which I had inadvertently said was handsome. The Tunis otto of roses is said to be as good and genuine as any in the Mediterranean, and it is by far the cheapest place to buy it; as I got the best quality, in tolerably large bottles of the kind used on the occasion, for about thirteen shillings a bottle, whereas at Algiers, Oran, and the other states I paid fifteen for a less quantity and worse sort.

The news of our having cut out the ships from Tunis and being so high up the Mediterranean without any other force to protect us, induced the Spaniards to send a squadron of two ships of the line and four frigates in pursuit of us, which made Captain Thompson determine on falling further down the coast of Africa. We accordingly weighed on April 3, with the cotton brig in company, having sold the ship to some Jews at Tunis; and, standing along the west side of Sardinia, made towards Algiers under an easy sail, first taking a look at Minorca. On the 15th my signal was made to chase a sail in the SE, which, after a pursuit of six hours, I brought down to the Leander, being a Spanish brig from Mahon, bound to Algiers, in which I found five hundred cobs. The 17th we stood into the bay of Algiers, and had communication with the dey, with whom, at this period, we were not upon the most friendly terms; otherwise it is probable we should have been allowed to attack two Spanish frigates that had just then cut from their anchors and fled

from us into the mole. Having, however, had some reason to be satisfied with the attention paid to our corn brig, which we found here, and stronger reasons for not coming to an open rupture, we quitted Algiers, if not upon the best terms, at all events under strong assurances of the dey's determination to keep at peace with the English, 'for whom,' he said, 'he was always doing something without receiving the smallest civility in return.'

We stood out to sea from Algiers on the 19th of this month, and on the 22nd saw the two Spanish frigates we had left there crowding all possible sail for Cartagena. I was at this time between the Leander and the enemy, and was endeavouring to keep in that situation by carrying a press of sail after them; but having, unfortunately, carried away my gaff, I was obliged to join the squadron, and, night coming on, we lost sight of the chase. We proceeded across to Cape de Palos, and ran down the coast of Spain, and on the 26th spoke his Majesty's frigate Caroline. The hold of the Corso was but ill calculated for stowing her water and provisions, and at the expiration of two months I always found great distress for that invaluable article, and we had now been on a cruise fully that time without once benefiting from a port; but as the Leander and Terpsichore had abundance, both the Bonne Citoyenne and the Corso were constantly at this time supplied from them; but, as many accidents might happen from separation or other causes, we were of course at our usual allowance of a half-pint a day, both officers and men.

On May 6 we arrived at Gibraltar, where we found his Majesty's ships Princess Royal, Admiral Sir John Orde; Vanguard, Admiral Sir Horatio Nelson; Orion, Majestic, Hector, Alexander, Emerald, and Mutine brig. The Corso was now become

in such a state from her constant cruises that an order came from Lord St. Vincent to heave her down; when her bowsprit went in two in getting out, and her mainmast by the board in heaving down; her yards were all condemned, and she was in a state of debility not to be described. I cannot omit mentioning a circumstance while heaving down that produced from one of my midshipmen a serious event to an officer of the garrison, who, being on a visit to the officers of the Corso,[1] and getting heated with liquor, imprudently interfered with me in the execution of my duty. I wrote to General O'Hara, the governor, on the occasion, who directed a court of inquiry to sit and examine the business, when, the circumstance being fully investigated, he was obliged to sell out and quit his regiment.

It was May 30 before El Corso was ready for sea, for she not only was hove down and had new masts and yards, but a most commodious 'twixt decks was given her,[2] and accommodations built for the officers, so as to render her one of the most desirable brigs in the service, both for the benefit and comfort of the people as well as advantage to her commander; and having on this day received the admiral's orders to take under my command the Espoir, Captain Bland,[3] I sailed from Gibraltar for Oran, in Barbary, with a convoy, to bring down fresh provisions for the fleet and garrison. Our passage was so favourable that I arrived on the following

[1] Presumably on the invitation of the midshipman.

[2] At this time, too, she was fitted with the sweeps that were afterwards so useful to her (*post*, p. 378). Two other brigs were at the same time fitted with sweeps to enable them to contend with the Spanish row-boats.

[3] Loftus Otway Bland, as a lieutenant, commanded the boats of the Lively, under Hardy, at the cutting out of the Mutine (*ante*, p. 344), and on October 1, 1797, had been promoted to the command of the Espoir.

day, having run with a convoy the distance of two hundred and forty miles.

Agreeable to the African custom of saluting, we exchanged seventeen guns and presented the bey with the quantity [of powder] he had expended on the occasion, which was followed on his part by a present of ten bullocks and some vegetables to the two sloops of war; and on the 6th I sent the Espoir to cruise for a week off Cartagena, in hopes, as we shared with each other, we might pick up a little prize money. Having intimated to his Excellency the Bey that I intended to pay him a formal visit as the commander of his Britannic Majesty's vessels employed on the Oran station, and requested that he would signify to me at what hour I should attend him on the following day, I received for answer that he would be ready precisely at ten o'clock in the morning to give me an audience.

I accordingly quitted El Corso at eight, dressed in my full uniform, and attended by both lieutenants, surgeon, purser, and two midshipmen, with a Jew linguist, and arrived at the palace as near as possible to the hour he had appointed; but I was very much astonished to find that, totally regardless of the appointment, the bey had gone to sleep, agreeable to his usual custom, and that I was informed by his slaves I must wait in the court until he awoke, as it would be death for anybody to disturb his Highness before his accustomed hour of ringing his bell.

Excessively indignant at such treatment at a time I ought to be held in the most sacred of all offices, and finding that the slaves would not allow me to take the benefit of a shady room which was open in the courtyard, I quitted the palace with a resolution to return instantly to my ship, which was at the distance of four miles from the town of Oran; but I had scarce reached the boat when a horse was

[illegible] down for me with the dey's leave I would return as he was waiting to receive me. Wishing to avoid any cause of dispute at such a period, I returned to the palace where I found the dey sitting in his divan cross-legged upon a [illegible] cushion, surrounded by his chief ministers, officers, and slaves, with an arm-chair placed with velvet on his right for me which he ordered me to come and sit in, while the officers were directed to sit in chairs without a line of marble dust that ran through the centre of the hall. But before I approached the chair I gave the dey to understand that I was exceedingly hurt and distressed at being told I could not see him after I had gone through a great deal of fatigue to visit him by his own appointment, but particularly at the rudeness of his slaves in not allowing me to enter an apartment to avoid the intense heat of the sun, and that I could not think of accepting his invitation to sit down, and I received some satisfaction for the insults I had received within the walls of his palace.

He again requested I would sit, and I should have every satisfaction I wished for, adding that on his own part he had come home from his seraglios so very late in the morning, and been so fatigued after its business with his pashas, that he unfortunately forgot the appointment, and indulged himself in sleep as usual at that time of day. 'But,' added he, 'I have so lately myself come to the government of Mascar and Oran, and my people are yet so little acquainted with the etiquette of courts, that I do not wonder they have behaved so extremely ill: but I will soon learn them better manners.' On saying which he desired I would point out which of his slaves had behaved so improperly: when, not considering to what lengths punishments were inflicted among the barbarous nations of Africa, and wishing

at the same time to discover to those people the impropriety of their conduct, I pointed out two of the most insolent, when, in an instant, upon a signal being given, four fellows rushed forward with cords, and was proceeding to strangle them, when I entreated the bey, if he had the smallest desire to oblige me, or would endeavour to do away the injury I had sustained from those unhappy slaves, that he would grant them their lives ; concluding by assuring him that I had already received ample satisfaction by his readiness to punish the offenders and make an example of some of his most valuable slaves.

With a look as savage as the beasts of his forests, he granted my prayer ; and the victims of his revenge felt perhaps less apprehension and horror at hearing the commands of this African prince, or [not]more joy and heartfelt satisfaction on his countermanding them, than did the innocent author of such a scene ; for I as little dreamt of such a punishment for so trivial an offence as I did that I should become the savage lord of a most vile and barbarous people such as those I was then in conversation with. The remainder of the visit was taken up in drinking coffee, eating sweetmeats, and talking of various matters relative to granting the supplies I came for, which was a thousand bullocks and two thousand sheep, all of which he readily granted, in addition to a horse for myself, which they are particular in exporting, and which I was to consider as a distinguished mark of his friendship and esteem. It will not be amiss to observe that, upon such an occasion, the contractor, who was a private Jew butcher I brought in the convoy from Gibraltar, made his agreement with the bey himself, which this voyage was at the rate of fourteen cobs, or two pounds sixteen shillings, a bullock, and two cobs, or eight shillings, a sheep ; sending at the same time

into the country and round the neighbourhood to command all farmers and others to bring him such a quantity of cattle, for which he paid them from three to five cobs a head for the bullocks, and in that proportion for sheep; but finding the great demand there was for constant supplies for the garrison and fleets, he raised the price at our second coming to twenty cobs; so that, when the freight, the deaths, the feeding, and the profits were added together, they were sold for above a hundred cobs a head at Gibraltar, though the original owner at Oran did not receive above as many pence, for he had perhaps to drive them fifty miles at his own expense, wait till they were shipped, and then return home with twelve shillings.

The town, or, as it is generally termed, the city of Oran, is fortified both by art and nature in a prodigious strong manner, and has been the object of many bloody disputes between the Spaniards and the Moors, the former of which spent some millions in building forts and garrisons, the most of which are yet occupied by the Moors, but are so much out of repair, from the idleness of the natives, and so defaced by earthquakes, that it would take an immense sum to render them capable of defending a serious attack; but as there appears nothing about the neighbouring country to induce any power to form a settlement in it, I am at a loss to know what motives could lead the Spaniards to form one at such an expense, unless it was to provide a harbour for their vessels on the Barbary coast, to be a place for transporting their felons, or to carry on a corn trade at particular times, when they were not on the best of terms with the Moors. However, be this as it may, certain it is that they grew very sick of the possession, and peaceably surrendered it to the Moors in the year, I believe, of 1783.

The harbour of Oran, which is very improperly so termed, is four miles from the town, under the strong garrison of Pointe de la Moune ;[1] on the point of which stands a most excellent lighthouse, which appears to be used on no other occasion but that of going to its top on particular and stated periods and roaring out in praises of Mahomet. This harbour, or, more properly speaking, bay, is open, and much exposed to an east and north-east wind, unless you haul close in under the garrison, in ten fathom, and, keeping one anchor out to the southward, carry your other cable on shore and make it fast to the rocks, which have been cut for that purpose by the Spaniards when their ships of war used to frequent Oran as a Spanish settlement. And on the several times I visited this place it was an invariable practice with me, if I even stayed but a day, to moor El Corso in that snug way, as the heavy gusts which came at times down through the hills and vales from the westward were so violent that the ships, even so secured, were in danger of being driven to sea, or, if moored in the open bay, of going on shore to the SE under the iron-bound clifts of Oran itself.

On the 11th Captain Bland returned to me from his little cruise without having had the good fortune to meet with a prize. On the 18th the Flora frigate came in with two republican brigs of war she had captured. On the 23rd I dispatched the Espoir to Gibraltar with such of the convoy as were laden ; and on the 25th the Flora proceeded to sea on her cruise, her prizes having taken the benefit of Captain Bland's protection to Gibraltar.

During my stay at this abominable and excessive hot and sickly place, at which the plague had already begun to make its appearance, I frequently

[1] Apparently Marsa el Kebir.

visited the caverns and subterraneous recesses of the mountains without the harbour, of which some were extremely curious indeed, and through which I have frequently sailed with my boat without any inconvenience, and where innumerable wild pigeons had their nests ; some of which, by taking the birds from, when just from the eggs, I reared under some tame pigeons on board that were sitting, by breaking their eggs ; but though I used every means to tame them, and constantly succeeded in rearing them till they flew about with the other birds, yet I never was fortunate enough to domesticate them to that degree of perfection so as to induce them to be content with their situation, which, however in some degree limited, was, I hoped, extensive enough to render them satisfied ; but so precious is real and true liberty to any boundary or restraint whatever, that they everlastingly flew away and inhabited their favourite caverns, overhanging precipices, and rude, boisterous cliffs; preferring those awful dwellings to the more peaceable and lazy retreat of a ship, or even house on shore, where they were constantly provided with food and caressed for the pleasure they afforded ; but to range the world at large, to continue 'gay nature's happy commoners, to pluck the choicest fruit, and scorn to ask the lordly owner's leave,' was a situation evidently to be preferred to all the kind inducements that could be possibly held out to them by the art or cunning of the well-named 'tyrant, man.'

Innumerable wild beasts of every kind and description inhabited the country round Oran, and it was extremely dangerous to be any distance from the town or garrison in the night; a proof of which we had by one of the Flora's men having been left behind drunk at the caves where we dined ; who, on his return the following day, informed us that a large beast, which he supposed to be a tiger, had visited

the cave, at which time he had swam off to a rock about a stone's throw from the shore, and passed the night with fear and trembling. I do not doubt the truth of the story, for nothing was more common than the Moors bringing every sort of wild beast to the bey, who had in his house for a companion a very fine male lion, with whom I have seen him wrestle and play, as other people may do with a spaniel; and the wild hogs was so plenty there that you might buy them in the market; at the same time they were so savage that two which I had on board at one period would, when let loose, instantly fly at the people and clear the decks. Deer was also so numerous that you might see them on the tops of all hills, but they were so wild that it required a vast deal of trouble and study to come near enough to shoot them. Hares, rabbits, woodcocks, partridges, and all kind of wild fowl were excessive plenty, and at one time I had a curious collection of wild hogs, fawns, eagles, hawks, partridges and wild pigeons running and flying about the ship; to which I may add innumerable land tortoises, some hawk's bill turtle, and turtle-doves.

In one of the caves I discovered a hot spring issuing from the rocks, which was sufficiently so to boil eggs, and, to the distance I could put my hand, a perfect boiling pot. It did, I am sure, possess some very excellent qualities as a remedy for the gout, from which I found benefit, both by drinking and bathing.

During my stay here I was constantly plagued with unhappy wretches of Christian slaves deserting from the bey, which was the occasion of many quarrels and warm disputes with both the prince and his chief officers, and most dreadful were the examples made of those who were caught attempting to escape; for notwithstanding by the late treaty of peace with the Dey of Algiers you are authorised

to receive all Christian slaves who can, or do, make their escape, after a warning of twenty-four hours being given of the arrival of his Majesty's ships in the ports of Barbary, yet, as it was prudent to keep good terms with them to get the supplies we wanted, it was an awkward time to be busily receiving their most valuable slaves, some of which poor fellows had been slaves at least twenty and thirty years, and who, upon swimming off in the night, would throw themselves prostrate upon the decks and kiss my feet, and I thank my God that I have had the happiness of restoring many unhappy beings to their friends, their wives, and children.

Before I totally quit my little observations about this part of Barbary I shall relate a most savage and inhuman circumstance of the Bey of Oran, which took place at this period when I was in the harbour: and although I did not witness the barbarous transaction, I had the business related to me from one of the captains of the ports who assisted at the dreadful and singular ceremony.

Two of the most charming and lovely women that inhabited his seraglios, whom he procured at a vast expense from Greece, and for whom he was said to have a partiality, had, by some incautious and giddy proceeding of speaking or waving to their countrymen from the windows of the seraglios, so displeased their prince and tyrant master that, from a persuasion they had some intentions of either making their escape or receiving their friends by some stratagem into their apartments, he, raving mad with African jealousy, determined on putting them both to death: but, out of his bountiful goodness and esteem for them as favourites, he sent them word to prepare for the solemnity by dressing in the richest apparel they had, and that, out of his prodigious love and respect for them, that he would

prevent their falling by the hands of his slaves, agreeable to the usual custom of the country, by doing them the honour of being their executioner himself.

The fatal morning of June 26, 1798, those two lovely victims to savage custom appeared before his Highness, arrayed in all the charms of person and dress, heightened by all the conscious innocence that could possibly accompany the most virtuous of their sex. In vain they told their piteous, artless tale, in vain solicited a little mercy and compassion, or brought to his recollection the tenderness he had shown for them on being taken from their native country to Barbary as slaves, merely to indulge his happiness and pleasure, and to be, as they had ever been, his faithful and affectionate dependants. But alas! this modern Othello, this inflexible murderer, did not even possess, in the smallest degree, a feeling for the deed he was about to commit. 'Yet,' says the mistaken Moor of Venice, 'I'll not shed her blood, nor scar that whiter skin of hers than snow, and smooth as monumental alabaster;' and, laying down the bloody weapon, adds, 'Yet she must die, else she'll betray more men.' But no, nothing could induce the Moor of Oran to follow even Othello's kindness. But lo! 'list a brief tale!' Brandishing a diamond-hilted Turkish weapon, this inhuman savage cut and hacked those lovely women by turns, till, covered with ghastly and mortal wounds, they groaned, they fell, and died.

Sure this melancholy story has a right to Richard the Second's admonition to his friends, and I shall insert it in pity to the two fair Grecian victims :—

> 'In winter's tedious nights sit by the fire
> With good old folks, and let them tell thee tales
> Of woful ages long ago betid ;
> And, ere thou bid good night, to quit their grief,
> Tell thou the lamentable fall of *us*,
> And send the hearers weeping to their beds.'

The son of a wealthy Jew, who had broke the established and strict law of the Turkish prohibition respecting their women, was condemned to death by the bey, and the unhappy woman, agreeable to their custom, put in a bag and sunk in the sea some distance from the land. But a very considerable sum having been offered by the young man's father for his life, Osman consented thereto, and bid the father bring the money the following day, when, having received it, he told the youth to go home and be more circumspect in future; but no sooner had he quitted the palace than, turning to his slaves, he said, 'Go put that young man to death in the street. I'll teach him how to trifle with the laws of our Prophet Mahomet.'

I might relate several other abominable anecdotes of this detestable monster, Osman, Prince of Oran and Mascar, but I believe it will be needless to give any further proof of his cruelty, breach of faith, or want of mercy; I shall therefore proceed to say that I quitted this port on June 28 with a convoy, and on July 10 arrived at Gibraltar; but being unable to have communication with the garrison, having a quarantine of forty days to perform, on account of the plague being at Oran, I sailed again on the 12th for the fleet off Cadiz with dispatches, and returned to Gibraltar the 15th, from which I again departed to cruise my quarantine out on the 16th; and having ran down to the SW coast of Africa as far as Cape Cantin, I returned to Gibraltar on the 23rd, and came in just in time to assist at another gunboat fight, in which we were obliged to take shelter under the garrison, the enemy's boats being three to one. The 28th, having still a part of my quarantine to perform, I again proceeded to sea, and in attempting to save an English brig from a small French privateer, I had very nearly been sunk

or taken by seventeen Spanish gunboats, who were close to me in the evening before we discovered them; and nothing but a smart breeze springing up could possibly have saved me, as they were within musket-shot and rowing up on both quarters with an intention of boarding me, which I, however, avoided myself, but the brig was taken close to me. Having once more escaped from very unpleasant skirmishes with the boats from Algeziras, I proceeded along the coast of Spain to the eastward, and on August 2, Cape de Gata bearing E by S, eight or nine leagues, sent the boats manned and armed in chase of a Spanish vessel under the land; but the enemy having collected in great force and opened a small battery on the shore against the boats, I recalled the officer charged with my orders by signal, and stood that night into the bay of Almeria, with an intention of cutting out some of the enemy's vessels at anchor there.

On the appearance of daylight of the morning of the 3rd I boarded a ship at anchor under the town of Almeria, which unfortunately proved a Greek; but the boats, having been dispatched at the same time to attack some other vessels further in shore, returned with a Spanish settee laden with wine, but of so small a size as to be of but little value; and I should perhaps have succeeded much better had not a cruiser, and to all appearance an enemy, stood in after me under a crowd of sail, followed directly after by four other ships. These, from standing toward and making private signals to, I found to be an Algerine squadron on a cruise, with whom I was soon inclined to part company, once more to try my success in bringing off some of the enemy's vessels in and about the bay of Almeria.

On the 4th I stood under Cape de Gata, and, seeing a vessel hauling round the point, dispatched

the Spanish prize with an officer and twenty men to cut her off, standing myself along shore under the batteries, and seconding these efforts by the cutter to ensure success. But the fire from the shore was so smart and the wind so very light and unfavourable that, after a little severe skirmishing, I was obliged to retreat with the loss of one man only, killed by a twenty-four-pound shot from the battery of Cape de Gata, while rowing to the attack in the Spanish prize St. Antonio; which [shot] not only wounded two others, but obliged the boat to return, and which that evening I sunk. At midnight I attempted the same vessel with the boats under Lieutenant Dorsett, with directions to land under cover of the night and surprise the crew of the vessel, who was on shore guarding her; directing another to board and cut her out, while I stood close round the point as a deception, and drew the fire of the battery on the Corso; which proved successful, the lieutenant having gallantly performed his duty under a severe fire, and brought off the vessel, which was, however, of so little value that I destroyed her.

On August 8 I stood across the bay of Almeria; and finding, from the variety of signals making on shore, that I was well known and the whole coast alarmed, I judged it prudent to quit the coast, and stood directly for the Barbary shore, with an intention of visiting Oran, where I anchored on the 9th, and received on my arrival a present of two bullocks, six sheep, and a quantity of vegetables from my old friend Osman the bey, whom, however, I did not salute, from a little dispute respecting the number, until some days after, and which at last ended by an exchange of five guns only. Having refreshed my ship's company at this port, overhauled my rigging and painted the brig, I sailed

thence again on the 18th, and proceeded to Gibraltar, where I arrived on the 20th; and on the 23rd I was a part of a little force sent again to a gunboat fight, which proved the most serious I had seen, and in which the Spaniards, from their own account, lost upwards of sixty men. And it will appear how daring they had become when I say that the Excellent and Colossus, of seventy-four guns, were both attacked by the gunboats, and that nothing but boats could stand any chance with them, from their rowing so well and generally attacking in calms.

I sailed again for Oran with a convoy the 24th, and on the 25th, in a stark calm, a French privateer rowed among the vessels and absolutely towed off one of the sternmost, which I sent Lieutenant Miller in quest of, with all the boats of the convoy manned with sixty men from the Corso; but a strong breeze springing up, I made the signal for the boats to stay by the convoy, and chased her for twelve hours, when she struck, and proved to be La Française, from Malaga, on a cruise, mounting two brass carriage-guns and six swivels, and manned with forty-five men. She had thrown overboard the guns and provisions and water during the chase, and had just come out on a flattering cruise of two months, to intercept the Oran convoy, depending upon her sailing for the success of avoiding our cruisers.

The delay of joining my convoy, and the chase having drew me directly toward Gibraltar with a strong Levant wind, I made the signal to bear up for that port, and came to in Rosia Bay on the 27th, most lamentably beat by the gunboats, which, as usual, brought on a general fight, and, depriving a few unhappy individuals of their lives, to little or no purpose.

I sailed again with the convoy on the 28th, and the 29th made the private signal to a ship of the

line, which was proved by her answer to be the Colossus; but the master of the vessels, mistaking the signal for the one to disperse, though as contrary to each other as possible, fled from me in different directions, and absolutely returned again to Gibraltar. On the 30th I fell in with a convoy of five Spanish vessels under the escort of a xebec of eighteen brass guns and twelve swivels, bound from Malaga to Peñon de Velez, on the Barbary shore, where the Spaniards have a settlement; but it was, unfortunately, late in the evening, and they were within four leagues of the port. However, I instantly gave chase, and followed the xebec, who was of a much superior force to the Corso, but who I clearly perceived would not defend her convoy. About midnight it fell from little wind to a stark calm, about which time I had reached their rear, boarded a brig laden with water, wine, provisions, and other refreshments for the garrison of Peñon de Velez; and, pushing on, arrived at the mouth of the harbour at break of day, when I had the mortification to see them rowing in under their batteries, which a breeze for an hour longer would have enabled me to prevent.

Finding I had lost my convoy, and that the garrison must be in want of fresh provisions, from their return to Gibraltar empty, I made all possible sail for Oran, arrived on September 7, saluted and received presents as usual, and on the 17th sailed for Gibraltar, having freighted my prize with bullocks and sheep, and taken in twenty bullocks also into the Corso. On the 21st I fell in at midnight with the Espoir, Captain Bland, bound to Oran with the convoy that had quitted me, to whom I gave orders to return with me to Gibraltar, where we arrived on the 22nd amidst one of the heaviest gunboat cannonades I ever saw, the whole garrison

being in a blaze, and several men, women, and children killed on the shore, who were merely spectators of the fight; and we found that the prize having the English colours over the Spanish provoked them so daringly to this combat. On the 27th his Majesty's brig Mutine arrived with the pleasing information of Admiral Nelson's glorious victory over the French at the Nile, upon which we fired twenty-one guns and illuminated on board and on shore. And on the 28th I again proceeded to sea with the Espoir and a convoy under my command for Oran, where I anchored for a few hours on the 30th, and taking with me the Espoir and Française, privateer prize, manned with an officer and twenty seamen, I proceeded on a cruise off Cartagena, where I arrived October 3.

My motive for leaving Oran was to avail myself of the time the convoy would be collecting their cargoes of bullocks by cruising between the island of Minorca and Cartagena; but we commenced this flattering and short expedition in as unfortunate a way as could possibly happen. On the 4th, running along the coast of Spain near Cape de Palos, I made the Espoir's signal to speak a small Spanish vessel, which she captured, laden with onions and melons; and having divided as many between the two brigs as we could conveniently stow, I sunk her with a vast quantity of both sorts in her. And the following morning, making the rendezvous-signal for Cartagena, I sent the Espoir in chase of a brig in the offing; the Alboran, late Française, in shore after some water; and gave chase myself to a privateer to the eastward, which led me an unfortunate dance of twelve hours, and in the end turned out to be an English cruiser from Gibraltar, from which, however, I pressed five good seamen.

From the 5th to the 7th I was beating to wind-

ward to regain the place of rendezvous, but not finding either the Espoir or Alboran within sight of Cape de Palos, and being told the French ships captured by Admiral Nelson at the Nile were in sight to leeward, I bore up for them about ten o'clock in the morning with light winds; and as it was Sunday, and customary for me to read prayers, I ordered the drum to beat to divisions, from which, by the toll of the bell, we assembled to church, leaving only the lieutenant of the watch and the people at conn and helm upon the deck. I was arrived so far as that incomparable prayer of the sea service wherein we solicit relief from the 'dangers of the sea and the violence of the enemy' when the officer of the watch, Lieutenant Dorsett, came and told me in a whisper that we were close to a frigate, which was the headmost of the ships, and that he believed she was a Spaniard. Thunderstruck at such a discovery, no wonder if I concluded the service with the short but applicable prayer of 'Prevent us, O Lord! in all our doings with Thy most gracious favour, and further us with Thy continual help,' and then dashed upon deck to behold a scene that could never have presented itself if the officer having charge of the watch had known the smallest atom of his duty or profession. Indeed, 'twas plain enough she was a forty-four gun Spanish frigate within shot of us, both our heads toward each other, and three more just astern of her in full chase. I put about without loss of time, and made the private signal, which, of course, as I expected, she could not answer; and I therefore stood to the westward under a crowd of sail, pursued by four of the finest and largest frigates then in possession of the Spaniards.

The land of Cape de Palos was ahead, which I could not weather; the nearest frigate was on my

weather quarter, and the other three upon my lee bow, beam [and] quarter, coming up with me as fast as could possibly be. Thus was I situated about four o'clock on Sunday evening, October 7, when the winds was shifting and deceasing every minute, and the land so near that I was obliged to tack and attempt the crossing of the headmost frigate, at the risk of having all my masts carried away, or of being sunk by the unavoidable broadside I must receive in the act of passing her. The boats of the four frigates were advancing in order of battle to board me, and, as I have since learned from one of my officers, who was at the time a prisoner in Cartagena, another boat was sent in to the governor to inform him that they had taken one of the finest and largest brigs the English had in their possession. But although it was next to impossible to escape, though it required a miracle to pass the difficulties before me, and although the whole of the officers were dispirited, and both them and the ship's company had so far given up the brig for lost as to put on additional clothes and pack up their things, yet I recollected my escape off Tenerife, an act of Providence, and that another act above human nature might assist me if I for my own part would exert myself to the utmost of my ability; and I do most solemnly declare that I never lost my hopes, or was in the least inclined to doubt the interposition of Providence in my favour, even when come to the above critical and serious moment of going about.

No sooner were we round than the boats dashed directly at us, and rowed across the bows; the frigate we were to dispute the passing with took in her studding-sails and hauled up her mainsail, as if she expected we would strike on meeting. I treated the boats with all possible contempt, as I would have defied double their number to affect us without the

loss of half the men they had in them; and having put two men to each gun to return the expected broadside, and commanded the rest to lay flat upon the deck, I crossed her about half-past four within hail, and left her, in the most ridiculous situation imaginable, to pick up the hostile boats, for which the Spanish commodore had made his signal, determining to pursue me himself, and at all events to show that nothing could authorise him to allow of our escape from a situation next to that of absolute possession. Here, again, was our situation at five—one infinitely worse, as I declared at the moment, than that of crossing them; for I now found by my prisoners that the frigate in chase of us was supposed to be the fastest sailing ship out of Spain, and this she proved by coming up with us two knots to one.

At six o'clock the fatal moment appeared to be at hand, when all efforts must prove ineffectual. She had commenced a heavy fire on us, and was so close to our quarter that I expected she would have been alongside of us in five minutes. The signal books were brought upon deck, and I had prepared for that prelude to striking, that of sinking them. 'But the race is not to the swift, or the battle to the strong.' The winds were bid by Providence to hush to rest; not a zephyr was to be seen upon the surface of the smooth sea, and in an instant the canvas clung to the masts and yards. 'The sweeps! The sweeps! Out sweeps!' was now the cry, which in an instant was tugging her along at the rate of two knots, amidst the loudest huzzas of the tars and the vain, noisy guns of the enemy.

> 'Such a noise arose
> As the shrouds make at sea in a stiff tempest—
> As loud, and to as many tunes. Hats, cloaks,
> Doublets, I think, flew up; and had their faces
> Been loose, this day they had been lost. Such joy
> I never saw before.'

ESCAPE OF EL CORSO, October 7, 1798: 6 P.M.

From a painting by Luny, after an original sketch by James

In the course of half-an-hour their shot would not reach us, and at dark we were three miles from them. This, however, was not to be trusted to; the winds are a most uncertain thing to confide in, and calms was to be taken advantage of. I therefore directed all hands to be kept at it till midnight, and treble allowance of wine to be issued; and at two in the morning I turned them at it again, from a certainty they were still in pursuit of us, which we found to be the case at daylight, and that from an air of wind aloft they had not lost a foot during the whole night. In short, they chased us till nine that morning, making the whole chase to consist of twenty-two hours, during which time I never for a second quitted the deck, or allowed an officer to forsake his station, but by being relieved by another; and as I had now no inducement to stay out, and was anxious to know the fate of Captain Bland and my tender, I bore up for Oran, and on the 9th I saw the squadron detached from Admiral Nelson with the French prizes. But having thrown overboard all my onions and melons that I intended to have given those ships, I did not think I could be of any use to them; and therefore, on the 13th, I anchored at Oran, where I, on the following day, returned thanks to God for our escape, being Sunday, and the only day I had opportunity of reflecting coolly on the goodness of Providence in relieving us from the hands of our enemy.

In the course of a few days I was joined by Captain Bland, from whom I learned that my tender, the Alboran, had been captured by some gunboats, and that he had narrowly escaped being taken by the same Spanish frigates that chased the Corso; that he had fell in with a Ligurian ship, who fought without any colours, and that he had taken her as a pirate after an action of two hours,

and carried her into Gibraltar, having lost his master in the action; that, besides the Ligurian, which I ought to have observed mounted twenty guns of different sizes, he had detained a Greek with Spanish property from the West Indies, which Sir James Saumarez and squadron claimed for, but which, in his opinion, they could not by any means substantiate; lastly, Captain Bland informed me that both of us were to be made post captains on our return to Gibraltar,[1] and that he supposed the two prizes he had captured would give us each about three thousand pounds.

It was just about daybreak when Captain Bland came on board, and I was in my cot during the time he related his adventures from the time of our separation; and it will be needless to observe that it was altogether a piece of intelligence calculated to produce me infinite happiness, which I must say soon discovered itself by the increase of my spirits, which had been depressed by the almost certainty of the Espoir having shared the fate of the Alboran, by whose loss I had been deprived of my carpenter, a midshipman, and twenty of my best men, besides the responsibility attached to my having manned her without leave from the commander-in-chief, and also taken upon myself the consequence of risking a cruise with the two sloops without any orders to that effect. Under such circumstances it is no wonder that the news of my promotion should particularly raise my spirits, as it did away all apprehensions of the Earl's displeasure, and at length brought me to that rank which may fairly be deemed

[1] Bland, junior to James as a commander, became his senior as a captain, his commission being dated back to September 25, the day of his action with the Ligurian, while the confirmation of James' was delayed till December 24. It is to James' credit that he shows no ill feeling about his junior's better fortune.

the head of the profession, and which I had been labouring at for the tedious space of thirty-six years.

Having completed the business of loading the complement of cattle agreed on between the Prince of Oran and myself, and adjusted all affairs at this barbarous place, I set sail for Gibraltar October 12,[1] 1798, and arrived on the 18th,[1] after having had a severe attack from the Spanish gunboats on our entrance into the Bay, where the gunboats of the Rock, with the ships' boats, came to our assistance, and which alone could enable us to withstand the attack of so superior a force, but which had the effect of beating off the enemy and bringing the whole of the convoy safe to anchor in the mole.

Upon my waiting on the admiral he confirmed the business of my being posted by presenting me with a commission for his Majesty's ship Canopus, of eighty-four guns, late the Franklin, one of the French ships captured at the Nile by Lord Nelson, and Lord William Stewart was appointed to the Corso on my promotion to post, which was on October 24, 1798, and I proceeded with Captain Bland in the Espoir to Lisbon to join my ship, where he was also to take the command of the Tonnant, of eighty-four guns, captured as above at the Nile. In our passage through the Gut of Gibraltar we were attacked by a French privateer, who had taken the Espoir for a merchant ship, and first attempted to board us: but though I cannot say much in favour of the good conduct of the Espoir's company, yet, by the confusion of the enemy, she was very soon captured and sent back to Gibraltar. The night of the Espoir quitting the

[1] So in MS. clearly by some carelessness of writing. By James' log, signed by him within a few days, the dates were October 23 and 26 respectively.

Gut had nearly been a fatal one. The wind shifted to the SW and blew a violent hurricane, and it was only by a shift of wind to the NW about two in the morning which saved us from being wrecked near Cape Trafalgar. Captain Bland, having some dispatches for the squadron off Cadiz, fell in with them the following day, and on the 29th we arrived at Lisbon, where I instantly took command of the Canopus, and began to refit my cabin, which was totally destroyed in the action.

It will be needless to say much respecting my stay in Lisbon, or in fact anything of the Canopus during my commanding her. Let it suffice that, after continuing in the Tagus eleven months, we were ordered home under convoy of Sir Alan Gardner to Plymouth, where, on September 8, 1799, we were paid off; when, after paying my respects to Lord Spencer at the admiralty, I retired to a little cottage in the parish of Mylor, near Penryn, in Cornwall, where I amused myself with a garden and twenty-five acres of ground, the peace of 1801 having put an end to my wish for employment.

Thus safe once more, I tread my native soil,
Now free from war and sailor's hardy toil;
No gale that blows can shake my little cot,
But snug and sure I boil my friendly pot;
And till another war calls Bat away,
Content at home he'll spend his whole half pay.

January 5, 1802

APPENDIX A

(PAGE 22.)

THE PASSAGE OF THE ORPHEUS.

THE log of the Orpheus is in substantial agreement with James' account of this passage, the differences between them being not greater than might be expected under the circumstances: the one being written mainly from memory three years later; the other—the log—also, it may be presumed, written from memory after the lapse of some days, if not weeks. It may thus be thought that the discrepancies are less notable than the general agreement. It is of more interest to note the explanation of the successive disasters, as given by Captain Hudson[1] to the secretary of the Admiralty on the arrival of the ship at Halifax.

Orpheus, Halifax, Jan. 31, 1776.

SIR,—You will be pleased to communicate to the Right Honourable my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that on November 21 last, in the latitude of 40° 56′ N, and longitude 36° 28′ W, I was not only separated from Admiral Shuldham, but likewise lost all the principal sails that were then bent to the yards, by a very violent gale of wind, but more so by the badness of the cordage and ironwork that the ship was equipped with, particularly the running rigging and chain-plates.

On the 30th of [the] said month I unfortunately lost the fore and main masts, which I likewise attributed to the same cause; for in the interim I had not only replaced the running rigging, but likewise the chain-plates; but all to no effect.

These misfortunes reduced me to one fore and fore

[1] P.R.O. *Captain's Letters*, H. 32.

topsails of principal sails only left in the ship; and those I bent as courses to our jury masts, with a determined resolution to persevere in gaining, if possible, the coast of America; which I happily effected, and yesterday got into this port.

How often did I regret our want of a forge and the distillation for salt water! The former would have in some measure replaced our broken iron, and the latter our want of water, of which we were at a pint a day before we arrived here. And I am fully convinced that if the materials of the ship had been good, we should not have sustained those losses, for she has every good quality that a ship possibly can have at sea.

I shall use every exertion in my power to get the necessary materials re-established, and join Admiral Shuldham. In the meantime Commodore Arbuthnot thinks our presence here a favourable circumstance for the protection of this place, as there are no other King's ships here except the Cerberus, who is alongside the wharf, but by the frost prevented from heaving down.

Enclosed is the state and condition of the ship, and

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient very humble servant,

CHARLES HUDSON.

To Philip Stephens, Esq.

Such disasters were not uncommon—similar explanations need not have been unfrequent during the administration of the Earl of Sandwich. It is, indeed, customary to refer them to the extreme pressure of the war and the terrible strain on the resources of the navy. But that pressure, that strain, could not of themselves have been felt in 1775, when the Orpheus fitted out; nor even two years and a half later, when twelve ships of the line, rigged at Plymouth with twice-laid rope, suffered as much, or perhaps more, in their passage to Halifax and New York in the summer of 1778.

APPENDIX B

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THE SURRENDER OF YORK-TOWN

IN connection with James' detailed narrative of this terrible disaster, it will be interesting to read the temperate discussion of it written by Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton,[1] who commanded the British Legion during the siege, and was himself involved in the surrender :—

It may not be improper to recapitulate the causes which were productive of this important event ; and as the arms of America and France were crowned with success, they demand a primary attention. General Washington and Count de Rochambeau, early in the summer, entreated the French admiral to embrace the first convenient opportunity of quitting the West Indies with the fleet and some land forces to participate in their designs against the common enemy in America. The sending the Marquis de la Fayette to command in Virginia was certainly a step well calculated to communicate to that and the neighbouring provinces a strong persuasion of French co-operation ; and the movement of the combined army in June towards New York contributed greatly to conceal the point of attack. The early arrival of the French fleet in the Chesapeake, the speedy disembarkation of St. Simon's brigade, the rapid movement of the French and American troops from the northward, to form the investment of York-town, exhibit strong and admirable proofs of political foresight and military arrangement. The conduct of the French and American engineers and artillery in planning the approaches, and pointing the ordnance during the siege, demands the highest applause. And the behaviour of the Count de Grasse, in leaving the bay during the absence of some ships and of a number of seamen to engage Admiral Graves, and by that means protect the Count

[1] *History of the Campaigns of* 1780 *and* 1781, *in the Southern Provinces of North America* (4to., 1787), pp. 391-3.

to have [illegible] is not less worthy of admiration. In such great [illegible] necessarily proceeded from projects that were conceived with profound wisdom, combined together with singular prudence, and crowned with unwearied success.

A retrospective view of British operations plainly discovers that the march from Wilmington to Petersburg was formed and executed by Earl Cornwallis without the knowledge or consent of Sir Henry Clinton. That Yorktown and Gloucester were voluntarily occupied by his lordship in preference to Old Point Comfort, when a post for the protection of the navy was required. That as soon as Sir Henry Clinton was apprised of the minister's wish to make a serious attempt upon Virginia he commanded as large a corps to Earl Cornwallis in that province as was compatible with the safety of New York and its dependencies during the vicinity of the French and American army. That every intelligence which could be obtained of the enemy's movements was transmitted by the commander-in-chief who made all the efforts in his power to assist and relieve his lordship from the period that the French fleet entered the Chesapeake to the hour of the capitulation at Yorktown. And that Earl Cornwallis may be said to incur the imputation of misconceiving his own danger in not destroying La Fayette's detachment after the affair near James Island; in not sending to the corps at Williamsburg previous to the junction of Washington and Rochambeau; in quitting so early the outward for the inner position, where he was obliged to make proposals to surrender eight days after the enemy opened their batteries; and in not adopting sooner and more decidedly the measure of passing through the country. Some instances of oversight may therefore be attributed to his lordship, which precipitated perhaps the fate of his own army. But the genuine cause of the great national calamity which put a period to the continental war, must by all ranks and descriptions of men be principally ascribed to the minister in England, or the admiral in the West Indies. The arrival of De Grasse in the Chesapeake equally animated the confidence of the allies, and destroyed

[1] It will be remembered that Lord Hood took a somewhat different view of this part of the business. See N.R.S. iii. 28-9.

all the British hopes of conquest or of reconciliation in that quarter. The safety of Earl Cornwallis' army, in all human probability, would only have procrastinated the evil day; for the past success of the campaign, and the future prospects of the King's troops, were counteracted by the formidable appearance of the French fleet. The superiority at sea proved the strength of the enemies of Great Britain, deranged the plans of her generals, disheartened the courage of her friends; and, finally, confirmed the independency of America.

APPENDIX C

(PAGE 176)

THE ORDER OF MARLBOROUGH

THE Order of Marlborough, established, as described, on April 22, 1789, was, of course, entirely a piece of social pleasantry, which may remind us of, in their different ages, the ancient pastime of 'High Jinks,' as described in 'Guy Mannering,' or the 'Sette of Odde Volumes,' of the present time, whose motto is *Dulce est desipere in loco.* That of the Order was 'The Feast of Reason and the Flow of Soul,' and the meetings were held at irregular intervals whenever the Grand Master, or rather the 'Sovereign,' was at Jamaica. The minutes of these, preserved among James' papers, give a quaint picture of the way in which our forefathers took their fun a hundred years ago, but have no naval or historical interest. At the third meeting on May 1, 1789, rules were drawn up; a sign, password, and token were resolved on, and a sum of 50 guineas was given to the Sovereign for the purchase of ribbons and stars, with which, on March 18, 1790 (*cf.* p. 178), he invested the several knights.

James' star—whether different from the others or not cannot be determined—was of chased silver, five-pointed. In the centre, on a ground of light blue enamel, is a mailed arm issuing from a cloud, the hand holding a sword, and round this, in successive rings, a circle of white enamel

bearing the motto, a circle of pearls and rubies, and a circle of blue enamel. Altogether, a handsome ornament, which has been converted into a brooch by cutting off the silver points. The ribbon is of blue silk, four inches broad, richly embroidered in gold and colours. On March 22 a uniform was decided on—navy blue cloth, a blue velvet cape, and a special button. The last entry of a meeting is on January 15, 1793 (*cf.* p. 212). For the months immediately following James was employed in more serious business or in cursing 'droits of admiralty;' and his later service never brought him back to Jamaica. It would seem, however, that the Order, in a modified form, continued to exist in the person of its Sovereign, and that he held meetings, with himself perhaps the only knight present, wherever and whenever it suited him. In his old age he used to say that he was the first to knight Nelson, who—as is familiarly known—was made a K.B. after the battle of Cape St. Vincent. This would imply that Nelson was made a knight of the Order of Marlborough, at Porte Ferrajo, on December 28, 1796 (p. 323). Of these irregular meetings, however, there is no record.

It is said (p. 175) that the number of knights was thirty-one, but this number was not completed till the meeting of July 1, 1791, when the limit was raised to fifty. Of these thirty-one, Bacchus and Apollo, present always in spirit, if not in body, were two. James was described as 'Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Island of Marlborough and Sovereign of the most distinguished Order of Marlborough.' The other twenty-eight members were severally appointed to high offices, such as Lieutenant-Governor, Lord High Admiral, Lord High Chancellor, &c. George Deffel Bowes, a lieutenant of the 3rd Buffs, was Secretary at War, and Stewart Bruce, an ensign of the 13th Regiment, was Commissary-General; the rest were all civilians—among them, Robert Boog (p. 182), who was Receiver-General. With the exception of the Sovereign, the navy seems to have been, at this time, unrepresented.

APPENDIX D

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MERCHANT SEAMEN AT MARTINIQUE

THE story referred to is told by Tucker in his 'Memoirs of the Earl of St. Vincent' (i. 114–15, note). It may be mentioned that Tucker's father, Benjamin Tucker, was for many years St. Vincent's secretary afloat and his humble colleague at the Admiralty. The old admiral had a keen though grim sense of humour, and may probably have told the story to his secretary, who repeated it to the biographer.

'It was about this period that Lieutenant Bartholomew James took such a quaint mode of settling a slight misunderstanding between himself and his men as to the kind of service which it behoved them to render.

'So universally did Sir John Jervis stimulate all ranks to exertion, that the crews of the hired transports were occupied not only in their peculiar duties, the landing of artillery and stores, but occasionally in transporting their guns to the heights. Among the "agents for transports," as the officers commanding them were then denominated, Lieutenant James was remarkable for his zeal and activity; and if an occasion of difficulty and enterprise presented itself, he was sure to be the ready volunteer. But the sailors he commanded, being only in private employ, and for a particular and limited service, and therefore not entitled to pension and compensation for wounds, were insensible to the glorious advantages or pleasures of gratuitous and extra exertions which might put their lives in imminent jeopardy; and they frequently complained of the manner in which their agent exposed them. At length an anonymous representation against the officer reached the admiral, who sent for Mr. James, and with assumed seriousness communicated the charge.

'With evident contempt for his accusers, Mr. James protested that he never had placed his men in danger

unless the nature of the service rendered it unavoidable, nor without sharing it himself, and he was proceeding to vindicate himself more particularly, when the admiral cut the matter short by putting the document into his hands, desiring to have a written explanation; and then dryly pointed out the spot whither it was desired to get a twenty-four-pounder gun mounted. Delighted to be released, the lieutenant hurried away to comply with the hint, and the heavy gun was landed and advanced with the usual celerity. It has been seen that the parties dragging these guns had to cross openings of which the enemy had found the range; and one of the most exposed places was a spot which Mr. James considered favourable for entering into the subject of the complaint. So, as if suddenly recollecting the admiral's orders, he there halted his people, and with all simplicity told them that, while they took a little rest, he would read aloud an accusation which some infamous fellow had made against himself; adding that he was surprised that there was any complaints at all; but desiring also that anyone who had aught to say would at once come boldly forward and avow it; and then he very deliberately proceeded to read the letter. But at a stationary body of men, of course the enemy fired; and while the lieutenant was reading, whiz flew a shot over his party's heads. In an instant the transport's people were quite refreshed, and ready to proceed. But this Mr. James refused, preferring first to finish what he had in hand; and there he kept them, till he had been assured by every man, individually, that he had no participation in the complaint. Fortified with this triumphant answer for his admiral, he again put his party in motion, and the gun advanced rapidly.

'When this was related to Sir John Jervis he was greatly amused; but nevertheless, judging it expedient to place Mr. James in a position where his enterprising spirit might be more lawfully indulged, he selected him for one of the lieutenants of the flag-ship, and shortly after promoted him to the rank of commander; when, as is well known, Captain James' services in the Rover (*i.e.*, El Corso) fully justified the admiral's discrimination.'

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